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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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PUBLIC, SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS LAUNCHED

Construction in Kabul

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 16 Jan 82 p 3

[Text] On the basis of the progressive objectives of the Government and the PD-PA policy, the Kabul Municipal Corporation as a public service organisation earnestly devises and smoothly implements its city construction plans for ensuring the well-being of the citizens within its financial means.

In addition to hundreds of effective public welfare tasks, major steps have been taken to provide housing facilities for the citizens. One of these is the gigantic Shahrara project, scheduled to be completed in five stages in 10 years.

After the victory of the Saur Revolution, especially its new and evolutionary phase, the corporation has been striving to ensure sound environmental conditions for the city-dwellers. "Today's municipality is not like yesterday's. Today's, it serves as a big effective public service organisation", said Hamid Barna, vice-president of the technical department of the corporation in an interview with the Kabul New Times.

Talking of the activities of the organisation in meeting the needs of the Kabul citizens during the first six months of the current Afghan year Barna described the volume of its activities as greater than for the same period last year. For instance, over 80,000 square metres of road in the city have been repaired and asphalted during the two months of the current year, which shows a considerable increase compared the same period last year, during the last six months of the

1360 H.S. about 70,918 cubic metres has been asphalted and the municipality has rendered valuable tasks in different spheres.

Similarly, the corporation has completed the hygienic survey of all city restaurants during the six months. During the same period, the municipal vehicles have transferred outside the city about 90,746 cubic metres of dirt and rubble of the demolished houses already expropriated.

Barna added that, during the first six months of the current year, the cornerstone of one of the Shahrara gigantic residential quarters in the city was also laid. With the completion of the project, over 16,000 persons (2,000 families) will enjoy modern housing facilities.

To prevent the construction of unplanned residential quarters in the city and provide the opportunity for building cheap shelters to cope with the problem of homelessness and necessary urban facilities for the people, the municipality proposed launching of the low-cost Nawabade Pulecharkhi and Dashte Chemtala projects to the concerned authorities.

After endorsement of the projects over 8,000 persons have received forms for quarters under them. All urban facilities have been envisaged in the

projects, Barna said.

To provide more facilities for the citizens, the Guzargah concrete bridge with 74-kms railings at the two sides and four pylons for illumination of the bridge was completed in 33 days, he noted.

Barna added that the municipality envisaged development of the multi-storied areas including its master plan and implementation of the city canal system as soon as possible.

To procure adequate foodstuff and fuel for the citizens, the municipality, in keeping with the directives of the Govern-

ment and the PDPA, has resorted to useful practical measures according to its annual programmes, he said.

To facilitate implementation of the master plan, the area under it has been divided into eleven zones with due consideration of the city population (11 municipal precincts). This will provide facilities for all Government organisation in the public service sector and others to organise their activities in a single zone and regularly fulfill their duties with more authority in line with the Local Administrative Organs

Law, rendering better services for the people, he pointed out.

Talking of the 'Friendship and Cooperation Day' in Kabul on January 8, Barna said that over 1,620 persons and 62 vehicles loaders and excavators of the municipality in three cleaning zones through the first to eleventh precincts of the organisation as well as the central maintenance groups participated in the collective work for cleaning the city and repairing the roads, "fulfilling their patriotic duties to the citizens".

Literacy Courses

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Jan 83 p 3

[Text] There are 28,000 literacy courses in the country at present. Following the Jaddi 6 change, which is truly called the phase of salvation of the homeland and the revolution, very important decisions have been taken towards improving the economic, social and cultural condition of the toiling people.

Foremost among them has been the revival of the literacy courses in accordance with the revolutionary spirit and popularisation of literacy at a national level.

The party policy and the DRA Fundamental Principles clearly define the duties of the Government towards eradication of illiteracy in the country. Thus, in this sensitive juncture the true realisation of the country's social conditions

and profound comprehension of the role literacy plays in development of the revolution and society is the paramount duty of all educated people in the country who can take active and effective part in the national crusade for popularisation of literacy among various strata.

Talking to the reporter of the Kabul New Times, on literacy campaign at the national level, the number of literacy courses, the role of literacy in the process of the glorious Saur Revolution, its impact on the spirit of people and on social and revolutionary development, Sher Mohammad Khawar, vice-president of the Literacy Department of the Education Ministry said, "Illiteracy is a major problem in this country. It is now receiving ser-

ious attention. Strenuous efforts are being made to popularise literacy among the people, especially adults. For instance numerous literacy courses have been established in the Government organisations and factories for men and women, both in the capital and provinces."

"Conducting of literacy courses for women by the concerned department, seminars for teachers of literacy courses as well as seminars for the heads of literacy departments in the provinces are among the measures which have provided favourable opportunity for exchange of views and experiences among the literacy campaign workers in the centre and provinces. These measures have also yielded positive results as far as popularisation of literacy is concerned."

"The opening of the first centre for auxiliary education called Functional Literacy School where mainly women are enrolled and similar centres in other parts of the city are among the positive steps taken towards popularisation of literacy and these centres are sure to lead to fruitful results."

Implementation of education programmes, for first time, in the country, for outside-school children and acquainting the teachers in ways to implement this programme, holding of workshops with the cooperation of the UNICEF for familiarising teachers to new method of teaching and the first-year text book for children outside-school are among the other activities in this regard. Similarly, with implementation of education programmes for outside-school children now help a great number of children aged between nine and 14, in receiving education. They had earlier been deprived entirely of education as they could not be enrolled in the schools.

Under this programme, the children can complete the four-year curriculum in two years now and if their age permits, they can then enter the fifth grade of regular schools. Otherwise, they can make use of the auxiliary education centres to continue their studies. They can also make use of the 25 literacy courses for children which function in various parts of the city.

Under the plan envisaged for the current Afghan year, the Literacy Department is to enroll 550,000 students who have been so

long deprived of literacy. This figure shows an increase of 50,000 compared to last year.

However, the figures and facts received from the centre and provinces indicate that the plan target has so far been only partially fulfilled. All the provinces are making all-out efforts to implement their literacy plans and are required to submit their report of work and achievement in every three months. For instance, as is envisaged in the plan, 38,000 people to be enrolled in the literacy courses in Kabul province. At the end of the year they will acquire the necessary knowledge for reading and writing.

Since the Jaddi 6 change, till today, some 95,000 people, including the workers and employees of the Armed Forces, and both men and women, have graduated from the literacy courses.

According to reports received so far, more than 22,000 people have been organised in the literacy courses in Kabul, including women.

According to reports from the provinces, notwithstanding the hostile activities of the enemy, the projected plans of the Literacy Department are also being implemented.

Likewise, the Literacy Department has absorbed this year more than 800 teachers, thus providing employment opportunity for hundreds of the country's young people.

These courses are being taught, and supervised by

nearly 19,000 official and honorary teachers.

The central and provincial literacy departments are making persistent efforts to implement various programmes with success. To achieve this end, the Literacy Department has concluded protocols with some Government and social organisations under which hundreds of literacy courses have become operational. The major organisations with which such protocols are signed are the Rural Development Department, the Agriculture Cooperatives and the Trade Unions of Afghanistan.

The Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan is also rendering necessary cooperation with the Literacy Department by assigning women students and teachers to teach the literacy courses voluntarily.

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 20 Jan 82 p 3

[Text] In mid-December 1981, a number of cultural and technical agreements were concluded in Kabul between the DRA and the German Democratic Republic. Following is an interview, published in daily Anis, with Sarwar Mangal, Deputy Minister of Higher and Vocational Education:

Speaking on the agreements concluded, Mangal said: "Under Article 1 of the work plan between the DRA and GDR Governments on cultural and scientific cooperation during 1981 and 1982, a high-power delegation of the GDR Ministry of Higher and Technical Education, led by the First Deputy Minister of that ministry, visited Afghanistan from Qaus 16 to 21 (December 7 to 12, 1981).

During its stay in Afghanistan, the delegation visited the Kabul University, Polytechnic, the Jangalak Technicum, the Technical School, the Nangarhar University, the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee and other institutes of higher and vocational education of the DRA. The delegation also held talks with concerned authorities, scholars and students in a cordial and sincere atmosphere, an indication of the cordial will of the two sides for scientific and cultural cooperations.

As a result of this visit and talks, agreements were signed between the DRA and GDR Governments on exchange and acceptance of

graduates of the institutes of higher education and college students. Agreements were concluded on mutual recognition of degrees and other academic certificates.

Answering a question, Mangal said: "The main objectives of conclusion of these agreements was to further consolidate the friendly relations between the DRA and the GDR and to further develop cooperation in the field of higher education in accordance with the principle of international law, especially in accordance with the principle of equality of sovereignty and principle of non-interference in internal affairs, based on anti-imperialist solidarity."

MAJOR ROLE

"The signing of these agreements", he added, "will play a major role in consolidation of the friendly relations between the two countries, but it is also of useful value in organising and preparing the conditions for education, exchange and acceptance of graduates of institutes of higher education and colleges in the fields which are essential for the national economy in both countries."

The agreement between the DRA and GDR governments on exchange and acceptance of graduates of institutes of higher education and colleges is effective from the date the protocol was signed and is good for five years. Similarly the agreement on mutual recognition of academic degrees is effective from the date

the protocol signed and is good for an unlimited period of time.

According to the protocol the cooperation in the education field and higher education, at the Kabul University, development of the academic standard of Afghan lecturers through further education and fellowship in the GDR, and cooperation in the field of research, exchange of delegations and exchange of new scientific information will be expanded. Similarly, the protocol calls for exchange of views on agreed matters, cooperation in higher education, further future cooperation and further cooperation between the Kabul University and the Humbolt University of Berlin.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over the development of cooperation, as provided under the protocol of January 23, 1979, in the despatch of GDR professors for long-term lecturership at the Kabul University, consultative activities, and providing the ground for further education for Afghan personnel in the GDR and participation of experienced personnel in the training courses in the GDR. It was also agreed that all such cooperation be further expanded during 1982 and 1985.

Answering another question Mangal said: "Following the victory of the Saur Revolution, especially its new phase, the Government under the leadership of

the PDPA has taken effective steps towards building the new society, aimed at all-sided socio-economic development of the vast masses of the toiling people of Afghanistan. However, all-embracing socio-economic development requires the training skilled to fulfill the all-round development plans".

"The friendly and fraternal countries led by the Soviet Union", he pointed out, "has already extended great assistance in helping this country in the training

of cadres and, due to its internationalist duty, the country of the Soviets is granting scholarships for 1,500 Afghan students every year in various fields. However, in order to meet fully the requirements for trained cadres, the DRA needs the cooperation of other fraternal countries and, in view of this need, whenever the DRA leading delegations visit friendly countries, they pay special attention in this regard and have included cultural and education cooperation in the

protocols and agreements signed with friendly and fraternal countries."

"As of now, a number of Afghan students are engaged in receiving higher education in the friendly and fraternal countries, and the majority of them in the Soviet Union. Likewise, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Cuba and other fraternal countries have expanded their cooperation in educating the young Afghan generation", he noted.

CSO: 4600/242

SUPPORT FOR AMINI PROJECT FROM INSIDE IRAN

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 3

[Text] While former premier Ali Amini was known to be gratified by the response from inside Iran to his announcement of the setting up of at least the beginnings of a coalition of opposition groups in Paris, observers saw the most significant response outside the country as coming from the military organisations.

Three former armed forces chiefs of the late Shah, Generals Bahram Aryana, Fereidoun Jam and Gholamali Oveissi have all indicated their support and many lesser known officers have all said they will cooperate. Jam, though he has expressed his support and given advice on the project, has not actually joined the movement, but both Aryana and Oveissi have published communiques saying they will cooperate to the full.

Aryana said he was in harmony with Amini in his call for unity, which he himself had been urging in messages to exile Iranians. Both he and Oveissi expressed their full adherence to the pre-Islamic republic constitution. Oveissi said he was conforming with a "sacred duty of a soldier" in making his own political views subservient to the national needs. The downfall of the present unconstitutional, usurper regime was of prime importance.

Many opposition organisations have also expressed their full support for Amini's movement, which they can join without giving up their own identity and freedom. But other leading figures like Shahpour Bakhtiar and Ahmad Madani have not joined so far.

Madani is said by some sources in Paris to have gone back on his original open-minded approach to the idea, which led him to say that he would accept the monarchy if the people voted for it even though he was a confirmed republican. Madani's vacillation is said by some people to be responsible for finally deciding Amini to get on with putting together what he had already got.

CSO: 4600/248

BUDGET DETAILS SAID TO REVEAL FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] As details of premier Mir Hossain Mussavi's \$42 billion budget for the 1982-83 year beginning on Mar 21 seeped out over Tehran radio this week there were clearer signs than ever before that the regime does face a big cash crisis.

Most significant, perhaps, was the fact that the government was asking for all bills of lading in the months of Bahman and Esfand to cover sales of oil to be discounted by the Central Bank and the funds placed at the disposal of the government. Observers said the spectre of bankruptcy was obviously staring the regime in the face.

It was also announced that 180 billion rials worth of bonds and credits were to be issued by the Central Bank and put at the disposal of the government to cover the existing deficit in the budget--yet more government borrowing.

Other figures reflected the serious rundown of industrial production and business activity. An estimated profit in last year's budget of 100 billion rials on sales of steel, textiles and paper channeled through the government had resulted in an undisclosed loss instead; and the estimated 544 billion rials estimated to come from taxes had been reduced in reality to 110 billion--only one-fifth of the expected amount.

At the same time expenditure during the current year, estimated at around 2,600 billion rials, was way above the estimates at the beginning of the year. Income was put at around 1,587 billion rials, which will rise in the coming year to 2,519, the premier was reported to have announced.

Our economic reporter estimated that Mussavi's statements suggested oil exports of 1.5 million barrels a day were foreseen, with an implication that a cut in domestic supplies would be introduced to make up any shortfall. Mussavi said nothing about oil by-products, which now have to be imported on a considerable scale because Iran's refineries are not functioning at their normal capacity.

Figures given by officials in Tehran this week claimed exports have been running at around 600,000 barrels a day, with 200,000 going to Japan, 100,000 to Shell, 65,000 to British Petroleum and the remainder to Asia (India has just signed a new agreement) and to Spain and Italy. Sources said confirmation had not yet come from BP that it was again taking oil.

What is evident, says our economic man, is that to get near to balancing its budget Iran must produce about 2 million barrels a day over the next year. It is way below this at the moment. In addition, there is every sign Iran is finding it very difficult to increase its sales abroad.

Mussavi described his budget as the first-ever Islamic budget in history and added a further self-boost by saying he was introducing it a day before scheduled. On specific targets he said they would help small industry introduce a shift in priorities in subsidising essential items (he did not elaborate), disbursements on the development budget would depend on the capacity of each project to absorb funds and yield results (seen as another admission that payments might be difficult to make unless funds come in) and defence would get high priority. But it was hoped to integrate defence spending with other expenditures to provide "total mobilisation," he added.

The foreign press showed remarkably little interest in Mussavi's budget; however, Iranian observers saw this as a reaction to the way the Rajai budget of last year was first emaciated by the Jalis and then turned out to be no more meaningful in reality than the original version. They forecast a similar tough passage for the budget from the Majlis this year, especially in the light of the parliament's Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani's known animosity towards president Khamenei and Mussavi.

Ayatollah Khomeyni himself had to try to allay public anxieties over high prices and shortages of food among other goods. He said high prices were no new phenomenon in Iran, but he claimed there was plenty of everything available. Sources said this was true of only very few items.

The press was also featuring articles about the soaring prices, blaming 50 years of Pahlavi rule, imperialism, war and counterrevolutionaries for the problem. The Tehran daily ETTELAAT could hardly have comforted most of its readers when it said that no doubt there would be plenty of meat and other foods, together with all the luxuries required, all prepacked and imported into Iran, if the Shah had remained in power. "Even a good climate" would probably have been prepacked and brought in, it joked.

"But we decided to be independent and we must pay the price for that," the paper said. "We must face shortages, boycotts and embargoes...as part of the price we pay for championing the cause of Islam."

The political terrorists had been contained, the paper claimed, but the economic terrorists--the capitalists--were a more difficult matter. Even the smallest capitalists, the shopkeepers, reacted when the bigger ones started their action, and even ordinary people started withdrawing their money from the banks. So it was not easy to deal with this. But the culprits, the capitalists, were now revealed and action would be taken.

The best way was not to build up a capitalist or communist state but to continue along the Islamic way, the paper said. People must endure hardship in the knowledge they would have a better, unmaterialistic future.

Rafsanjani was more realistic than Kyomeyni when he was interviewed, conceding there were shortages and saying these were a blessing in disguise for they would help the government work for self-sufficiency by cutting consumption and imports. But he did diverge from the ETTELAAT view of capitalists when he said they had to distinguish between the good and the bad capitalists.

Rafsanjani also suggested that he and other officials were at last coming around to the idea that economics are complicated matters when he said the problem was that "wherever we touch this produces some reaction at some other link in the chain and this is a big problem."

CSO: 4600/248

STATEMENTS MADE BY FOREIGN GUESTS AT ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 7 Feb 82 pp 1, 2, 3

[Text]

TEHRAN - One of the Algerian guests Abdol Ghader, who is in Iran to attend the ten day dawn ceremonies marking the third anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran said yesterday that "the only country which has practically launched efforts to liberate the land of Palestinian brothers and sisters is Islamic Republic of Iran."

The Algerian guest further said that his countrymen fully supported the Islamic Republic of Iran and this trip was made to get better acquainted with the achievements in the wake of the Islamic Revolution as the Algerian people were eager to learn more about Iran.

He expressed hope that the unity prevalent among the Moslem students of Europe would influence the world and thus help the aspirations of the Islamic Revolution.

He emphatically said that the Iranian nation which holds Allah as the Ruler, the Holy Quran as the book of Constitution and Islam as their religion will thwart the fruitless attempts of the enemies of Islam.

A Palestinian guest Ibrahim Abu Omar said that the spread of the Islamic Revolution throughout the world will destroy the oppressors of the world. The Palestinian guest vehemently condemned the reactionary rulers of the region who are unreservedly dedicated to sustain the interests of the Zionists and the regime occupying Qods which is seeking to swallow the land of the Palestine people.

Kaukab Sadegh, the editor of New Trend, published in U.S. who is in Iran to attend the celebrations referring to the plots being hatched by the world oppressors whose head is the U.S. said "the imperialist America and her allies have concerted all their satanic plans to destroy the Islamic Revolution of Iran. What is important in this connection is that they are trying to infuse discord among the Moslems of this country and once this happens their biggest hurdle would be removed.

He said that in his opinion, the Islamic Revolution will be victorious in its task and will spread from the Philippines to Morocco."

"Despite the mammoth disseminating facilities, that are in the service of the world oppressors and Zionists, the influence of the Islamic Revolution in the masses, particularly among the Moslems of Africa and Mexico has made them impotent.

"Hojatoleslam Seyyed Aref Hussein al-Husseini, a professor at the Ja'afarih Theological School of "Pareh Chinar", Pakistan, who is in Iran to participate in the ceremonies said "the numerous plots that are being executed by the reactionary regimes of the region, on the gesture of America, has not at all effected the evolutionary Revolution and this manifests the fate of the American puppets, Saddam and King Hussein of Jordan and the likes, who are eventually destined to be enve-

loped in degradation.

"The Afghani Shia Moslems are hopeful to extricate their lands from the occupation of Soviets with the help of the militant Iranian nation under the leadership of Imam Khomeini, stated one of the members of Naw Organization of Afghanistan, Sheikh Mir Hussein Sadeqi.

The IRNA quoted Sadeqi who has come to Iran to attend the celebrations being held on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, as saying yesterday "many Shia Moslems, who were the followers of Imam Khomeini, have been imprisoned by the Soviet occupiers only on charge of expressing interests in Imam Khomeini."

He went on to say "the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran has deeply effected the struggle of the Afghani Mujahids against the Soviet troopers."

At the end, concerning the conspiracies of imperialists, he declared "the Afghani people continue their uprising and fight with Superpowers in Afghanistan due to fact that since the domination of big powers was brought to an abrupt end in Iran, they have been maneuvering in the world to find some other base particularly in the region. But they should bear in mind that all their satanic plots will be revealed and the solidarity of Moslems will further strengthen."

"The acts of Saddam

Hussein of the monarchical rulers of Saudi Arabia and of other U.S. lackeys show that they want to undermine Islam and the Islamic Revolution of Iran, stated one of the Bangladeshi guests who has come to Iran to attend the celebrations.

Mowlana Abdolrahim, the head of the Islamic Democratic Assembly of Bangladesh in an interview with the IRNA, said "the Bangladeshi people look hopefully toward the Islamic Revolution of Iran because they know that after 1,400 years, an authentic Islamic Revolution has emanated in Iran. The nation of Bangladesh and the deprived of the world hope to witness the establishment of this revolution in the world under the leadership of Imam Khomeini."

Another Bangladeshi guest, Mowlana Abdolsobhan concerning the mischievous plots of the U.S. against the Islamic security of Iran and the imposition of war by Iraq upon Iran, stated "the aggressive, cruel Saddam imposed this war on the Islamic Iran and such commitments, enacted by him (Saddam), the Saudi Arabia rulers and by other U.S. servants, have been planned to destroy Islam and to change the situation of the region in favor of the U.S."

A Syrian Mufti, Sheikh Kaftarow, along with several high-ranking Syrian officials met and conferred on Friday afternoon with the religious authorities Ayatollahs Golpayegani, Najafi Mar'ashi and the prominent scholar Ayatollah Montazeri in Qom.

In these meetings, discussions were held on the reflection of the Islamic Revolution in the world as well as the role of unity among Shias and Sunnis.

In a visit the Syrian Mufti had with Ayatollah Golpayegani, he expressed his happiness in coming to Iran and visiting religious authorities.

Then Ayatollah Golpayegani, thanked him for participating in the ceremonies, and confirmed the unity among the Shia and Sunnis in confronting world discord and the role of these types of missions.

In his visit, with Ayatollah Mar'ashi the Syrian Mufti presented an authorization letter to quote scientific and jurisprudential traditions of Sunni ulema in Shia theological schools. It was resolved that a similar authorization letter be presented to the Syrian Mufti by Ayatollah Mar'ashi, prior to his departure to Syria.

Sheikh Ragheb, Friday prayers leader of Jabshit, Lebanon, described his views on the Islamic Revolution's achievements and topical Iranian issues.

He said three years after the revolution the Islamic Republic had stabilized itself. He added that contrary to rumors abroad about Iran they found the situation in Iran normal and with no unsolvable problems. Referring to his visit to the defunct shah's palaces he said that these indicated the oppression of the dependent regime of the shah, but added that there were still some other oppressive rulers in the region who were plundering the wealth of the Moslems.

He considered the war of Iraq against Iran as a war between Islam and blasphemy and announced support for the position of the Islamic Republic. About the leadership of Imam Khomeini he said that they considered Imam Khomeini as the leader of Moslems. He said that Lebanese Moslems were fond of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

Referring to the recent decision of the Supreme Defense Council concerning the formation of the Golan Battalion consisting of volunteer Iraqi PoWs and refugees to aid the Syrian government in the fight against Zionism he said that it showed the firm determination and sincere goal of Iran in liberating the occupied lands of Palestine.

Another Lebanese guest, Abdullah Kafi, said that despite slanders currently circulating about the Moslem people of Iran, he saw that the people were friendly, warm spirited and revolutionary.

Kafi added that the Islamic Republic was not alone in its struggle since all the dep-

rived people of the world defended the Islamic Republic. Concerning the Iraqi imposed war, he said that Saddam Hussein was not the only regime against the Islamic Rep-

ublic, but all the powers and their lackeys in the region were against the revolution which had taken place in Iran.

Also among other guests, was Dimitri Gutas, a professor from Greece, who said that he felt that the spirit of the families of the martyrs was unprecedented despite the loss of their loved ones. He added that people who had such spirits and faith would undoubtedly be successful in solving their problems.

Gutas, who teaches university-level sociology and philosophy in Greece, said that the reason why the Iranian people were undefeatable was their belief in God's eternal power, and added that the Iranian people truly believed that their martyrs were alive forever.

A Malaysian guest, Abdullah, said that he had heard many things about the Islamic revolution in Iran but now he had seen true Islam.

Another member of the Greek mission said that the Greek people regarded the Islamic revolution of Iran as an anti-imperialist and independent revolution which continued its movement with the reliance on the people's power.

George Doliantis, added that they had come to Iran to witness closely Iranian struggles against imperialism.

Referring to the Iraqi imposed war, while condemning Iraq's aggression, he stated that this war was in favor of the US, so a solution should be found to end it. Doliantis, who is the representative of the management of the high schools in Athens, expressed his willingness to be able to reflect the fact that the Iranian nation has overcome its problems despite all superpowers' conspiracies.

Demetrios Stylianos Guotas, another Greek guest in a short talk said that he had well comprehended the hate of Iranians towards US imperialism.

On the Iraqi imposed

war, he remarked that it was crystal clear that it was only US imperialism which benefited and therefore, the Ba'athist regime of Saddam had started this war stimulated by the US. This Greek guest, who is a professor of a Greek university talked about the role of the leadership of Imam Khomeini, and said that the leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran was the one who was taking Iran to ideal perfection and the people of Iran would gain ultimate triumph, by relying on everlasting divine power.

Guests visited the Beheshte-Zahra cemetery on Thursday and paid their respects to the martyrs of the revolution, the martyrs of the Iraqi imposed war, and Ayatollah Taleghani.

A group from the families of the martyrs who accompanied the guests to the cemetery describing who their children and relatives were martyred called on the guests to convey the messages of the martyrs to their own countrymen.

One person, whose brother had been martyred, told the guests that the Moslem people of Iran were martyred only because they defended Islam and they should tell the world that to the very last drop of their blood the Moslems in Iran would defend their leader, Imam Khomeini, and would fight the US.

A group of Christian

guests met with Archbishop Manokian, a leader of Iran's Armenian community. During the meeting, which was held simultaneously with the Friday prayers in which several foreign guests participated, the issues of the religious minorities in Iran were discussed. Meanwhile, the foreign ministry's Undersecretary in charge of Cultural and Consular Affairs, Mansuri, attended this gathering and replied to their questions.

Mansuri said that according to the teachings of Islam and Islamic culture and morals, Moslems do not believe in tribal, linguistic racial and religious differences. Islam teaches rather that all humans are creatures of God and are responsible before him.

Mansuri stated that one of the principles of divinely-revealed religions was the development of human values in the societies and removing obstacles to man's development.

The cultural undersecretary added that although the Islamic Republic in no way restricted the activities and programs of religious and tribal minorities still enemies tried to mobilize the public opinion against Iran through propaganda to that effect.

A representative of the liberation organiza-

tion of the Arabian Peninsula on Thursday, called on the Iranian government to convey throughout the world the "call of the wronged people of Afghanistan who are writhing under the occupying Soviet troops." The representative of the organization who was talking to participants in the fourth session of a conference of the world liberation organizations in the A'zam mosque of Ahvaz also said that so far a great many of the Moslem people of the Arab Peninsula had been killed on charges of raising against the "unIslamic government of the Saudis." He said the people of the peninsula had implicit faith in the person of Imam Khomeini as the "liberator of the Moslem world," and are ready to sacrifice for his cause everything they have.

He condemned also the United States for having lured Iraq into a war against Iran and added that the aggression against Iran has brought Saddam and his followers nothing except defeat and disgrace. He also indicated that the support to Saddam by the reactionary regimes of the region is destined to bring regional leaders nothing but ignominy.

Representatives of the liberation movements of Afghanistan, Iraq, Fatani, Bahrain, Moro and the Arabian Peninsula participated in Friday congregation prayers in Ahvaz.

GUARDS: KHANS INVOLVED WITH ARMED DISSIDENTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 Jan 82 p 14

[Interview with Mohammad Sadeqi, commander of Islamic Revolution Guards for Orumiyeh and Bukan]

[Text] All the centers of Azarbaijan are under the control of the forces of the Islamic Republic

The counterrevolution has no stronghold in the cities of western Azarbaijan

In an interview with KEYHAN, the commanders of the Islamic Revolution Guards for Orumiyeh and Bukan expressed their views concerning local as well as national issues.

First, brother Mohammad Sadeqi, the commander of the Guards for Orumiyeh, spoke. He said: The recent great victory of the Guards Corps of Orumiyeh was that our personnel succeeded in killing 'Esmat Khan Dari, who had a base on the border of "Sarv."

He added: This khan, who had about 150 armed men at his disposal, was killed after his stronghold was seized. A few others who were alive were disarmed and captured by the Corps. Presently, the government has total control over the region.

He also said: 'Esmat Khan Dari was one of the filthiest khans of the region. But, we also fought twice with Sanar Mamadi, another khan in the region. The first time, 8 of his men were killed and about 15 were captured. We also wounded and captured Mohammad Khan Chapan, another khan in the region. In this fight, we wounded or captured 20 of his men.

Concerning communications between the groups and cooperation between the khans, the commander of the Guards Corps for Orumiyeh said: The groups and parties all contend that since they are all fighting the Islamic Republic of Iran, they must unite. The documents we have

obtained show that, for instance, Qasemlu had dealings with 'Esmat Khan Dari. But, we believe that they are, by no means, able, at the present time, to strike at the Islamic Republic of Iran. The law enforcement agencies follow their movements attentively.

Also, concerning security in the cities of western Azarbaijan, he said: All the centers of the cities of western Azarbaijan are under the control of the forces of the Islamic Republic and travel continues to and from them. The only region which can be said to be a place for counterrevolutionary activities is "Sepiran," which is in the vicinity of "Sarv." But, they can never claim that they are active there or that they have gatherings and take militant actions.

He added: Fortunately, we have been able to deal with the khans and their agents swiftly. In our opinion, the most significant elements of conspiracy in the region are the khans who cannot live with the present regime in Iran. Unfortunately, during the transitional government, they were assisted and no fight against them took place. The fighting against them began with the government of martyr Raja'i and the Guards Corps took over this responsibility. Now, they have only the Guards Corps to fear and consider the revolution guards their main enemies.

Concerning the possibility of conspiratorial actions in western Azarbaijan, the commander of the Revolution Guards for Orumiyeh said: This possibility does not exist. We must deal with them directly, because as long as they exist, injustice exists and political negotiations cannot take place. Meanwhile, it must be pointed out that the transitional government inflicted the greatest damage by pursuing political negotiations.

Continuing the interview, brother Sadeqi said, concerning the cooperation of the Guards Corps with the revolutionary and administrative organizations: We have direct cooperation with the Governor General's Office, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Justice Department, within the framework of the charter of the Guards Corps. But, with other offices, we establish relations on the basis of various needs. In any case, as time goes by and the government of the Islamic Republic is consolidated and incompetent individuals are purged, our cooperation will expand and become better.

He added: In the course of the formation of the headquarters for joint cooperation in the northwest of the country, cooperation between the forces which defend the Islamic Republic reached a peak. In contrast, previously, the military, the Guards Corps, and the gendarmerie worked independently and in an uncoordinated manner. Now, however, it would seem that one organization is at work, similar to the complete coordination which exists among the combative forces.

He then pointed to the issue of propaganda saying: The propaganda of the Guards Corps, which is done under the supervision of the public relations office, is insufficient at the present time because of a shortage of manpower. For this reason, a number of the people in villages are unaware of the issues. In Orumiyeh and other cities, not only are the counterrevolutionaries unable to find supporters or to orchestrate any gathering, but they are even hated by the people. The people continually declare their opposition to them and also help to fund the imposed war. They aid the fighting forces with provisions and are mobilized to go to the fronts.

The commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards for Orumiyeh then spoke about the imposed war against Iran: All the intrigues of the opponents of the Islamic Republic of Iran and all their conspiracies have thusfar, thank God, been defeated or neutralized. The imposed war of Iraq against Iran has also met with the same fate and our enemies have realized that they are unable to damage the regime of the Islamic Republic by imposing this war, because the unity and sacrifice of our people is far greater than those of the people of other Third World countries or other nations under domination.

He then pointed out the efforts of other countries to end this war and said: I do not believe in mediation. Any kind of peace in any form regarding the imposed war is against Islam, because the infidel enemy is, at the present time, on our land as an aggressor. Therefore, he must leave and, God willing, this will be done very soon.

He then pointed to the conspiracies of the United States to damage the Islamic revolution of Iran and said: They do not have the courage to attack directly; hence, they take action through their agents in the region. But we have shown that we are able to withstand these conspiracies. God willing, at the end of the imposed war, we will be able to show ourselves as a great spiritual power in the world and export our revolution with ease. We will even be able to give military aid to dominated countries to fight the United States.

Mohammad Sadeqi, the commander of the Revolution Guards of Orumiyeh said as his concluding message in the interview with KEYHAN: The United States will never let us go and will fight us under various pretexts in order to destroy us. But, we work for God and we know that justice will be triumphant.

Brother Seyyed Hoseyn Feyz, the commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards for Bukan, responded to the questions of KEYHAN correspondents in this interview.

First, concerning the general conditions of Bukan and the procedure for its liberation from the counterrevolution, he said:

Bukan was, for two years and a few months, in the hands of armed, outlawed elements--the Kurdish Democratic Party, Kumeleh, Feda'ian, Hypocrites, and another group called "Khobat." This latter group consisted of drug addicts, smugglers, and thieves, who all escaped during the attack of the forces defending the Islamic Republic.

He added: After the entrance of our combative forces into Bukan, a ban on travel was declared for 48 hours in order to capture the remainder of the counterrevolutionary groups. The people of the city warmly welcomed the combatants of the Guards Corps and the military and brought them food.

Seyyed Hoseyn Feyz, who was in Saqqez during the liberation of Bukan and followed the events, said about the spirit of the people: The people of Bukan understood what the armed and outlawed elements were and for this reason, began to hate them. These same people said that the only goal of the armed aggressors was to harm the Islamic Republic, as they had plundered all the facilities of the city's hospital and had destroyed what they could not take with them. It was following this action that the people of Bukan went on a march in support of the Islamic Republic and the clergy also declared their support.

He then said: Bukan had the highest number of votes in the referendum among the Kurdish towns; but, unfortunately, due to the cultural poverty existing in the region, these problems occurred. Otherwise, support for Islam in Bukan is very strong. In the ceremonies now held in the city, thousands of people participate and for this reason, they respect the regime of the Islamic Republic and the authorities of the country.

The commander of the Revolution Guards of Bukan also said about security in the city at the present time: [Counterrevolutionaries] are not present in the region any longer, but, sometimes, in order to show their existence, they sit in ambush in the vicinities and try to start a fight. But, this does not bother us. We are prepared to be martyred. Our only concern is for the people at those times when occasional attacks are made and innocent people are killed. In one such incident, three innocent old men who were sitting in a tea shop were martyred.

He added: They have no particular stronghold and live in the villages or on the mountains. We realized that according to a recent census, several households in Bukan do not have a man in the house and the members of the families do not know where they are. However, sometimes they enter the city quietly and, then, in accordance with their plans, they start shooting up the city and disturbing the people. Recently, one of their strongholds, situated 11 km from Bukan, was destroyed by our combatants.

He then said about the unity or differences among the counterrevolutionaries: On the whole, their main goal is to overthrow the government of the Islamic Republic. Their differences concern their interests. For instance, some time ago, the men of the Kumeleh and the Kurdish Democratic Party fought with each other about taking over a hospital. And they fought about taking wood for burning from a garden in Sardarabad. Following this skirmish, a meeting was set up in which 'Ezatollah Hoseyni, the representative of Mas'ud Rajavi, and the representative of Qasemlu took part in order to resolve their differences; but we do not know the results of the meeting.

Concerning 'Ezatollah Hoseyni and whether he is liked by the people of the region, he said: 'Ezatollah Hoseyni is not at all liked by the people. Presently, he lives in a village called Turijan, which is the last and strongest stronghold of the Kumeleh and he is unable to carry out any activities. However, on the other hand, after the establishment of the Guards Corps in the region, the council of the combative clergy was formed under the supervision of Hojjatoleslam Musavi, the representative of the imam in the west of the country, and the people support this council.

He then spoke of the assassination and martyrdom of Molla Ahmad Zolfaqari as an unfortunate incident and added: This shows their weakness, that 10 people should kill a man for, as they said, his cooperation and contact with the Guards Corps, upsetting the people.

He added: The clergy and the people of the villages come to us every day and invite the revolution guards to go to their regions and stay there after we have purged the place. This is further evidence of the hatred of the people for the armed, outlawed groups, who are taking their last breaths.

The commander of the Guards Corps of Bukan also said: A large number of armed, outlawed people were deceived by promises of money, whereas, now, they only receive 1,500-2,000 rials in salaries. Presently, they are weak in the area of provisions and do not have the ability to continue fighting the Islamic combatants. Perhaps for this reason, Qasemlu has announced that he is recruiting those who are of age to do military service to register in the Kurdish Democratic Party; but, the people have responded negatively.

He considers the imposed war of Iraq against Iran a U.S. conspiracy and said: We are attaining more victories every day. The U.S. conspiracy was defeated in its early days and they realized that they cannot destroy us. As long as the people support us so strongly, victory belongs to us. It is noteworthy that in Kurdistan, too, the people provide most of the war provisions.

In conclusion, concerning the work of the seven-member committees for land distribution and Paragraphs C and D, brother Seyyed Hoseyn Feyz said: Following the recent statements of the president cautioning that we not go ahead of the imam, for the present time, this issue will remain in suspension until instructions have been issued. But, personally, I agree 100 percent with land distribution in accordance with the views of the theocratic rule, especially in Kurdistan.

SEMINAR DISCUSSES ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 pp 3, 4

[Text]

At a three-day seminar on "The Mission of the Revolutionary Guards" in Tehran last week, it was decided to set up a special study group to chart the future role of the guards in carrying the message of the revolution into a world-wide arena.

Speakers at the seminar included the guards' commander Mohsen Rezai, prime minister Hussein Mussavi and a number of young clerics. The seminar began its sessions with a message from president Khamenei. Commanders were earlier received in audience by Ayatollah Khomeini.

From the deliberations at the seminar it was obvious that both the government and the revolutionary authorities were worried about the following problems:

1. Discipline among other ranks and the apparent lack of a well-defined line of command.
2. Lack of proper military training for the other ranks.
3. Ambiguities in the relationship between the revolutionary guards and the army, police and gendarmerie.
4. The relationship between the government and the guards, especially in control of their budget.
5. The role of the guards in the export of the revolution and their relationship with foreign liberation armies.

All these points were discussed but speeches, invariably prepared texts, dwelt on generalities and standardised praise for the courage of the faithful members of the guards. Problems were mentioned in passing and no solutions were offered. However,

both Khamenei and Mussavi stressed the need for upholding the authority of the government. They also made references to the great role the armed forces have played in the defence of the realm. Ayatollah Khomeyni, while going out of his way to praise the guards, also mentioned the importance of the army, which he said had been cleansed of American influence.

On the problems of command structure and training it was noted that groups of guards often acted independently and although their heroism and bravery earned them respect, in many instances bravery meant taking blind risks at the cost of very high casualties. It was also noted that lack of discipline resulted in individual guards and commanders interpreting Islamic tenets as they wished, while they should have left such interpretations to "qualified" mullahs.

Independent observers believe that the seminar was held to sound out the opinion of the commanders on the future role of the guards once the war with Iraq was ended. It seems many commanders would like to go abroad to fight "imperialism."

The same observers also believe that at least for the time being the mullahs have given up the idea of gradually winding up the army and replacing it with the revolutionary guards. The mullahs have realised that to man a modern army one needs to have well-qualified and disciplined cadres and that faith alone is not enough.

Other interesting facts emerged from discussion at the seminar, such as the manufacturing of mortars by the army's arms industries as well as the capability of the army and the air force to set up repair shops to recondition armoured vehicles, aircraft and helicopters. It was also mentioned that artillery pieces were being manufactured in Isfahan.

Finally, it was learned that the revolutionary guards often refuse to undergo training in handling heavy arms. They only like to handle submachine guns and RPG7 mortars. They also love to fiddle about with walkie-talkies, possessing one being a source of great pride. Guards usually work under the orders of "komitehs" or "sepah," but the command structure is confused. Those acting as bodyguards for mullahs receive salaries from the central committee.

CSO: 4600/248

FEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST FOREIGN EMPLOYEES

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 pp 4, 5

[Text]

Civil servants and employees of nationalised industries have begun a campaign of threats against Indian, Pakistani and Arab employees who have been recruited by their theocratic overlords to fill the vacancies created by purges and the flight abroad of skilled Iranian personnel, reports from Tehran indicate.

A purged oil engineer claimed that several foreign employees of the ministries of Islamic guidance, foreign affairs and oil had already left Iran, "thanks to our campaign." One Indian working for a nationalised bank was so badly beaten that he needed a long period of hospital treatment. Many others had been attacked or chased, and threats against the foreigners were now commonplace.

"The mullahs and their stooges systematically force good and qualified Iranians out of their jobs and replace them with Indian, Pakistani and Arab carpetbaggers," the engineer contended to IPS. "We will not let these half-educated foreign charlatans take our jobs away. We are right to employ fear tactics against these opportunists from abroad. This is the only language the mullahs and their underlings understand."

Foreign employees of the mullahs are invariably Muslims, or so they claim. The mullahs like them because they demand lower pay than their Iranian counterparts and are obedient and docile. But their qualifications often fall below that of the Iranians they replace.

"It is outrageous to employ these sub-standard foreigners while thousands of qualified Iranians are out of work," a former foreign ministry translator said. "The mullahs are happy with minimum qualifications; what they look for is total obedience providing the man is born Muslim or pretends to be a Muslim." He said the influx of these foreigners was helping keep the regime going despite so many purges. The campaign did not imply hatred for foreigners, but simply a fight against an enemy.

CSO: 4600/248

TECHNOCRATS PLAN TO BOOST RESPONSE TO CRITICS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 pp 5-6

[Text]

The riposte by a group of former civil service technocrats to charges by premier Mir Hossain Mussavi that in the Shah's time they were tools in the hands of the American imperialists who placed their skills and talents in the service of foreign interests and a few rich Iranians continues to have echoes in Tehran.

The technocrats denounced Mussavi's charges and defended themselves eloquently in an open letter which they typed, sent to Mussavi and many other prominent figures and distributed through many offices. An English version of it appeared in IPS newsletter No. 54. Only government supporters have access to the press in Tehran.

The open letter engendered unusual interest because it was the first time a reasoned reply had been given and circulated to the constantly reiterated abuse of former officials as collaborators and agents of imperialism. Leftists criticised it angrily and at least one open letter circulated freely contended that since the Shah was an agent of American imperialism all who worked for the Shah's regime were collaborators.

The charges made by Mussavi were run-of-the-mill accusations against the former technocracy which managed Iran's rapid industrialisation between 1961 and 1979. By now the Iranian public is used to such accusations; Ayatollah Khomeini himself repeats them in nearly every speech he makes and other mullahs and figures of the regime harp on the same theme.

There was, therefore, nothing new in Mussavi's recent charges against Iran's former technocrats. Yet a group of former Plan Organisation technocrats decided to hit back and reply to them.

The letter attacking the technocrats was clearly not written by Khomeini's supporters, nor by Tudeh members. Nobody seems to know who wrote it. It claimed to represent views of ordinary, hard-working civil servants. Like the original open letter, the one which purported to rebuke it was unsigned. In Iran today only supporters of the regime and the Tudeh party identify their publishers.

The whole affair has raised two questions: firstly, why did the former technocrats decide to hit back at Mussavi on this particular occasion; and secondly, why did the open letter arouse such strong reaction.

A former middle rank technocrat who was forced to resign after the revolution and who is one of the authors of the open letter told this correspondent that he urged his former colleagues to challenge Mussavi NOW because:

1. The mere repetition of these charges by the combined forces of benighted reaction and the "Machiavellian" left has begun to convince less-educated people of their validity. We know these charges are baseless; so do many other honest and well-educated Iranians who can judge our achievements between 1961-1979 and compare them with what the mullahs have achieved since 1979. But many young people who have no means of knowing our side of the argument can be, and will be, brain-washed in due course. So we believe we have a duty to set the record straight. We did not do anything about these unfounded charges before because we believed they were so stupid that nobody would believe them. But their repetition poses the danger of their becoming credible in due course.

2. We have also been alarmed recently by the way in which the Western analysts and writers present Iran's situation. They seem to accept without qualification all the charges brought against the previous regime by its present opponents, whether the mullahs or the leftists. Such an attitude by Western analysts and writers is very demoralising for Iranians inside the country who know how baseless those charges are; especially when they see that the supposedly "fair-minded and objective" Westerners accept them.

3. We also decided on our open letter to signal the first attempt at breaking the campaign of fear to which the majority of Iranians have been subjected by the mullahs when a discussion of the pre-revolutionary era is underway. Because of this fear, it is almost impossible to have a public discussion on any subject without making ridiculous charges against the previous system. The trend is set by Khomeini himself who never fails to blame the previous regime for everything which is wrong under the sky. We have seen many middle or lower rank officials doing the same when they talk in public, while in private they concede that the previous regime had done a great deal for them and for the country.

4. We intended to make it clear that our work for the previous regime was, and still is, a source of pride to us. We worked at the Plan Organisation, not because we would have starved otherwise, but because we had job satisfaction and felt we were taking part in the development of our country despite the traditional cynicism which has afflicted us for generations.

5. We also intended to explode the myth that everything done in Iran between 1961-1979 and indeed under the constitutional rule was either dictated by foreigners or by corruption. We were alarmed to hear from so-called intellectuals that the trans-Iranian railway was built to facilitate movement of freight for the allied armies during the second World War, or that highways and dams were built to provide

a pretext to plunder our oil wealth. There has been a long process of mis-education, coupled with cynicism, which might be responsible for present public apathy towards getting underway a realistic analysis of Iran's present situation.

6. Finally, we are determined to clarify the question of "collaboration" with the previous regime. This is "blackmail" the mullahs and all leftists use to eliminate everybody who happens not to be a comrade, relative or friend. Under the previous regime the technocrats had at long last succeeded in setting up a system in which jobs could be obtained through merit. Now the mullahs and their leftist allies are trying to do away with this system under the false pretence of purging "collaborators." We intend to expose the mullahs and all the others.

A number of oil industry experts who have been purged by Islamic associations and their leftist allies have told this correspondent that they too intend to publish a report on the damage done to the oil industry by the Khomeini regime. They added that they were appalled by the failure of the exile groups abroad to compile documentary reports on achievements of "technocracy" in Iran before the revolution and the setback suffered after the revolution.

"This is one service the exiles could have done in their safe havens," a former NIOC expert now living in Tehran told this correspondent.

CSO: 4600/248

FEARS OF EFFECTS OF 'ISLAMIC' EDUCATION EXPRESSED

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 pp 6-7

[Text]

Iranian educationalists now fear that the "Islamicisation" of secondary school programmes will have a devastating effect in six to seven years' time.

"Once the present generation of secondary school pupils arrive at the university entrance age," one expert said, "we will have thousands of half-literate, mis-educated youth who certainly won't qualify to enter technical or scientific courses."

This assumption presupposes that there will be a proper higher educational system by then. Already more than 200,000 graduates of secondary schools are idle because for the past two years the authorities have not held university entrance examinations. There are also nearly 70,000 undergraduates waiting to see when, if ever, their studies will be resumed.

"My concern is the secondary education," the expert said. "For the past three years have witnessed dismissal or early retirement of 9,000 qualified teachers of maths, sciences, foreign languages and even Persian language and literature," he said. "Moreover, as many as 17,000 teachers of humanities have been purged to make room for theological students in their places."

According to other sources school curricula have been changed to reduce teaching time for maths and sciences and to increase hours allotted to Arabic language and theology. At many secondary schools there are no qualified teachers for physics, chemistry and biology. Teaching of English is also hampered because many teachers have either resigned or been purged. Many women teachers have resigned because they refused to wear mandatory scarves which assassinated leaders Rajai and Bahaonar insisted upon when they were ministers of education.

"Once a more modern-minded regime takes over it will have a tremendous task on its hands trying to repair the damage done to our educational system by the Khomeini-led mullahs," another expert told IPS. "I think any group which hopes to topple Khomeini and replace his regime should now begin to draw up plans to repair the damage."

Others believe that if the standards of the former regime's university entrance examinations are maintained many present secondary school pupils will drop out. Moreover, their poor qualifications will bar them from continuing studies abroad.

The same experts said that the Khomeini regime simply puts the emphasis on teaching antiquated subjects, such as ethics in early periods of Islam. Even teaching of the highly rich and sophisticated Persian literature has been replaced by teaching books written on ethics by Safavid period mullahs three centuries ago. The Safavid period is noted for the decline of Persian literature, a decline which was arrested 200 years later in the late 19th century.

Meanwhile, Ayatollah Khomeini told a group of theologians last week that Islamicisation of universities would take at least 20 years. "This does not mean that universities will remain closed for 20 years," he said. "It means that once we open the universities, they will not be fully Islamic, but they will be on their way towards becoming 100 per cent Islamic in 20 years' time."

Observers believe that Khomeini is under pressure to allow the universities to reopen in something like their original form, and to abort critics who might say that after two years of closure Khomeini is back to square one, he is now drumming up his 20-year theory.

CSO: 4600/248

REPORTAGE ON CRITICISM FROM IRANIAN EXILE GROUPS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 pp 9-11

[Text]

It may surprise many Westerners that something in the nature of resentment has arisen among Iranian Muslim exiles against the spreading campaign in the Western press in defence of the oppressed Bahai community in Iran.

These exiles cannot understand how over the past three years, when many ordinary Muslims who have suffered the same fate--arrest, quick trial and execution on charges of being un-Islamic or contravening Islamic laws--the world has remained comparatively unmoved. It seems especially puzzling to them that many of those who died unsung were the best friends of the West in Iran or, in many cases, liberal-minded people who had worked hard to try to bring to Iranians some of the advantages of a modern society which the Western world cherishes.

The attitude of these Iranians is based on a misconception of the nature of the Western media and political and human rights organisations. They believed that, because they know in their hearts that the majority of the people who work for the press and the other organisations are genuinely liberal-minded and humanitarian, these people were able to spend all their time and energies winking out every example of injustice and oppression in different parts of the world.

They are innocent of the ways of the world to such a degree that they had no idea that leftists in Iran and their allies in the West supplied virtually all the details about political prisoners and incidents of repression under the Shah to the pressmen and the rights organisations. If they hadn't the West would never have been able to find out most of them; the operation would have been prohibitively expensive, for one thing.

Thus for three years Iranian exiles have been complaining bitterly of the world's lack of interest in the misery imposed upon their country and the people back home. "Why, when the Shah's men tapped somebody on the head they seemed to know every detail of it and protested vociferously," they pointed out bitterly. "But now, when even Khomeini's government itself details every execution and other horrors, they treat it all casually."

Well, the reason for that is that nobody took the trouble to present the press and the rights bodies with chapter and verse on which they could work--as the leftists

used to do. The ordinary Iranian exiles didn't try to attract the interest of the press in any scientific way, they couldn't be bothered to compile lists of the dead and the details of what happened to them, they lacked the courage to make the kind of demonstrations that would have forced the public to really look at their compatriots' situation.

Worst of all, a great majority of them were scathing about the largely inept efforts of those who did try to do something, even though they themselves were not prepared to do anything to help themselves.

When the leftists began to bite the dust last year the Western press did begin to take an interest. They did so with a little more enthusiasm than when the first executions proved news back in 1979, for these youngsters now dying were both young and originally the backbone of the uprising. The left had also had experience of utilising the Western media back in 1978 so they had both some know-how as well as sympathetic friends among the journalists. Since then the Mojahedin-e-Khalq and other left-wing groups have worked hard to publicise what has been happening to them inside Iran.

The Bahais have also learned this lesson, and with the help of Western co-religionists they have mounted a much more efficient campaign recently than any other Iranian group. What else should they do, one needs to ask the Muslims who criticise them for hogging the headlines. Just because the wealthy and educated Muslim Iranians have cowered in the corners and failed to help protect their loved ones by drawing attention to what has happened in Iran does that mean any other group which is suffering must stay quiet, too?

No, instead of criticising the Bahais, except possibly for the unfair way they have failed to qualify their criticism of the late Shah, who was their very best friend in all Iran, Muslim Iranians should copy their example and stand up for themselves. Certainly they should stop criticising anybody who tries to do something constructive after all this time.

The same Iranian failing of criticising their country and their compatriots is noticeable when exile politicians also try to do their bit. There were some very stupid comments around about veteran statesman Ali Amini's efforts to get his coalition of opposition groups off the ground in Paris last week--"What does the old fellow think he can achieve?" was the question spluttered out by many people whose one desire is to get back home again but seem to have a kind "death wish" to chip away at anybody who wants to try to facilitate this.

Well, somebody should tell them that if there were more Ali Aminis among the exiles perhaps things might look a lot better for them today--and certainly they would enjoy a lot more respect among foreigners than their ineffectiveness has allowed so far. In spite of all the problems and the cussedness that he has encountered in his months-long negotiations with opposition figures Amini has stuck to his job with the zeal of a much younger man and has finally achieved at least something of what he set out to do by launching his Iran Liberation Movement.

One thing Amini's announcement in Paris has shown is that the opposition to the regime in Tehran is very much alive if quiet inside Iran. If necessarily muffled the response to his unity call has been a very definite one from religious as well as lay figures there. This confirms Amini's long held view that a united opposition movement abroad could provide a great deal of psychological support for those inside.

The comments of the former Plan Organisation official in Tehran to an IPS correspondent on the disappointment of people like him over the failure of officials in "safe havens" in exile to defend their records and that of their former colleagues during the Shah's regime, also reflect the need for a lot of soul-searching among Iranians in diaspora. Admittedly, Western newspaper editors, utterly ignorant of the true picture of life in Iran in the decade before the revolution, have spurned all attempts by letter-writers to try to correct their views and those of their readers by refusing to print their letters; but there are plenty of other ways the exiled officials could have tried to defend themselves.

The Mojahedin-e-Khalq rank and file, on the other hand, seem quite incapable of taking any balanced view of the past. They are almost uniformly ill-informed about their country, few of them having travelled widely enough to see what was being achieved. Ask them about different development projects and they look blankly at you.

They talk of their plans for the future but are utterly ignorant of what exists in the Iran of the present, never mind from days before the uprising.

Incidentally, a look through the Mojahedin publications, especially their new English language paper in London, will show clearly the company the Mojahedin keep in the West. The messages of support they print are all from leftist extremists, and in many cases openly communist groups. Most are completely atheistic people--yet the Mojahedin claims they are religious. One suspects that the "Islamic" tag represents the same Iranian desire to be different from other leftists as the adoption of the Shia Muslim faith was meant to show the Arabs that Iranians were different several centuries ago.

Not all the young Mojaheds are irreligious, of course; but for the majority, one finds on acquaintance, that their belief in Islam seems simply a thin veneer. Though Westerners could be forgiven for wondering about the sincerity of the majority of Muslims when they consider the reaction of the Muslim states and their peoples to the slaughter in Iran in the name of Islam.

Except in a few cases the Arabs have remained mute about Khomeini's savagery and his brutality in the name of the faith they share. Though some have deprecatingly said Khomeini's is not true Islam there has been no massive outcry and, indeed, many eminent scholars and other figures have shown a cavalier disregard for what they say they believe in not demanding of Khomeini that he conforms to what they claim Islam teaches.

It is to their fellow Muslims, perhaps, that Iranians in exile should divert their criticisms instead of Western non-Muslims when they complain of the world's apathy to their plight. If people are true Muslims and they feel Khomeini is betraying

the tenets of Islam by slaughtering people unjustly for spurious crimes against their faith why haven't they tried to stop him by exerting pressure on him? All right, they might say he wouldn't listen to them. Then why don't they excommunicate him or at least show they believe in what they claim their faith teaches them?

It is significant that in Western cities many of the spokesmen for Khomeini at public gatherings are from other Muslim countries and from Muslim centres maintained by rich Arab and other countries. This has not escaped the notice of Westerners, who are ready to point out that cynicism and hypocrisy are not the preserves of the Christian world.

My reference to the apparent silence of the Iranian Society for the Defence of Human Rights set up in London a few weeks ago has brought in a copy of a letter which they have circulated already to other human rights groups and interested bodies, offering to cooperate with them and asking for their support in publicising the rights situation in Iran.

"During the last 20 or 30 years," it says, "Iran's record in the field of human rights has hardly been an exemplary one. The excesses of the last two or three years, however, defy even the most extreme exaggerations of violence anywhere in the world. Reports of the barbarism emanating from Iran are chilling.

"Fanaticism of medieval proportions has been encouraged by the Iranian government to sweep before it religious minorities, political dissidents, intellectuals, so-called Westernised professionals and any individual or grouping not conforming to the whim of a tight clique."

Let's hope now they will get down to that much-needed documentation.

A commission is now being set up at the U.N., we gather, to look at rights in Iran. It's time Iranians everywhere started to stand up for themselves and give the answer to the cynics who say they haven't the potential to get rid of a tiny clique of primitive killers who are decimating their society and destroying their culture.

CSO: 4600/248

BRIEFS

CAMPAIGN AGAINST BAHAIS--The campaign against Bahais in Iran continues apace, with the public relations office of Tehran Municipality appealing through the press to Tehran citizens whose "houses or places of business are situated in streets, lanes or other thoroughfares named after members of the heretic Bahai gang, to report this to the municipality's contact unit immediately, giving precise locations and names so urgent steps can be taken to change them." The announcement went on, "We hope, God willing, the face of Tehran will be a mirror to reflect the true face of original tenets of Islam." Newspapers continue to be full of advertisements from people who print their photographs and deny that they have ever been Bahais, or who say they were misled into joining the faith and are now reconverting to Islam. From some of these it can be gleaned that retired Bahai civil servants have gone through "interrogation" to prove that they were not active members of the sect in order to continue receiving their pensions. In some advertisements there is reference to "clearance given by the interrogation." [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 12]

BANI-SADR AIDES ARRESTED--Tehran radio has confirmed the arrest of a number of officers suspected of having been involved in the escape of former president Bani-Sadr from Iran. It did not specify from which branch of the forces they came. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 12]

SECOND GASOLINE PROJECT--The Iranian government has confirmed its intention to go ahead with the second gasoline project to the Soviet Union--IGAT II--according to reports in Tehran. It is also considering resuming supplies of gas to the Soviets, suspended soon after the revolution when the Russians refused to pay the price demanded by the Tehran government, the reports add. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 12]

CLAIMS AGAINST IRAN--An American source hinted this week that the 900 big claims by American companies against Iran deposited at The Hague up to this week may involve a massive \$15 billion. There are also 2,800 small claims. Iranian sources promptly commented that the firms had obviously inflated their demands if the figure was correct. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 12]

MOURNING CEREMONIES--The Religious Foundations Organization (Oughaf), on the orders of "Imam" Khomeyni, with a view to "keeping alive mourning ceremonies related to the martyrdom of Imam Hussain and his followers, and in fulfillment of its religious

obligations during the two Arabic months of Moharram and Safar, organised 101 ceremonies and passion plays in Tehran province and 845 ceremonies and passion plays in other provinces," the daily ETTELAAT reported. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 12]

CARPET PRODUCTION FIGURES--The state-owned Iran Carpet Company operates 7,200 workshops and employs a total of 13,200 weavers throughout the country, Ahmad Nouri, the managing director of the company said last week. The company last year produced 23,500 square metres of carpets to a value of around 100 million tomans. He also said that carpets collected from various government offices and sold to the public fetched 41 million tomans, which were paid to the Housing Organisation. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 56, 28 Jan 82 p 12]

CSO: 4600/249

VARIOUS MASS OUTPOURINGS, ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING FESTIVAL WEEK DESCRIBED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 24 Dec 81 p 6

/Article: "The Masses of Our People Begin Celebrating the Week of Saddam's Qadisiyah: Numerous Activities Express the Masses' Great Love for the President and Commander Saddam Husayn"/

/Text/ The masses of our people proceeded yesterday morning to start celebrating the week commemorating Saddam's glorious Qadisiyah.

The festivals were inaugurated with the performance of the domestic and national anthems over the radio and loudspeakers spread throughout schools, institutes, universities, plants, factories, areas and streets in the country, broadcasts of the cry "God is Most Great" from minarets, and the pealing of church bells.

Our masses, through their activities, express their commemoration of the splendid victories the great commanding soldier Saddam Husayn has achieved and their determination to continue fighting with high bravery and capability in order to achieve a bracing victory over the ignorant Persian enemy and wrest the rights of the Arab nation from its imperialist, Zionist and usurper Persian enemies.

In the nation's schools, universities and institutes, the voices of millions of students, teachers, instructors and professors burst forth singing the national anthem, in the midst of rifle shots expressing their pride and glory over the victories of our triumphant legions under the command of the knight of the Arab nation, the president and commander Saddam Husayn.

In the talks that were given on the occasion, they lauded the heroic conflicts our heroic forces have recorded against the ignorant Persian enemy in defense of our just domestic and national rights.

Schools and Institutes

In their tours of the nation's schools and institutes yesterday morning, the correspondents of AL-THAWRAH and IRAQ NEWS AGENCY witnessed a portion of their celebrations on this occasion, holding decorative banners and posters on high glorifying this immortal occasion and expressing the students' and masses' joy as they greeted the 61st anniversary of the establishment of the heroic Iraqi army, the army of Arabhood, glory and liberation.

In the al-Hariri, al-Karkh, al-Kazimiyah, al-Mansur, and al-Thawrah preparatory schools for girls and the al-A'zamiyah, al-Markaziyah, al-Nidal, al-Nizamiyah and al-Risalah preparatory schools for boys, and in other schools in the Governorate of Baghdad, al-Karkh and al-Rasafah, the students chanted and sang proudly and with deep love of the victories of Saddam's Qadisiyah and their hero and the hero of the revolution and its commanding party, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party.

They prepared a program that included the holding of symposia, the delivery of cultural lectures, and the organization of people's action parades, technical and cultural festivals and exhibits embodying the victories of our heroic forces as they regain for Iraq and the Arab nation the glories of their great forefathers and uplift the repute of Arab generations to come among the nations of the whole world.

The Al-Mustansariyah University

Mr Latif Nasif Jasim, the minister of culture and information and chairman of the committee supervising the celebrations of the cultural week of Saddam's Qadisiyah, inaugurated the activities in al-Mustansariyah University on this occasion yesterday morning in the presence of Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq Qasim al-Hashimi, the minister of higher education and scientific research.

At the beginning of the celebration, the people in attendance stood for a minute to eulogize and commemorate the souls of the martyrs of our national war against the racist Persian enemy.

The week's activities began with the convening of a symposium, in which the university's president, professors and students took part, to talk about the battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah and the Persian aggression against Iraq and the Arab nation.

Speeches on the Historic Dimensions of Persian Aggression

The talks, which were presented by Profs Muhammad Muzaffar al-Adhami, Muzaffar 'Abdallah Amin, and 'Adil Muhammad Khudayr, dealt with issues bearing on the historic dimensions of Persian aggression against the Arabs, the historic and political background and dimensions of Saddam's Qadisiyah, the legal aspects of prisoners of war in Islamic Law, and international agreements regarding them.

In his speech, Dr Muhammad Muzaffar al-Adhami reviewed the racist destructive Persians' role in the Arab and Islamic state and the eras that followed its /establishment/, which was embodied in such numerous forms as the al-Shu'ubiyah Movement and the phenomenon of Khomeynism, which has had the restoration of the Persian Sasanian-Magi state as its goal, following the occupation of Iraq and the Arab Gulf.

The lecturer greeted the heroic acts of the heroic soldiers of Saddam's Qadisiyah who were fighting by proxy for the Arab nation in its past, present and future and bringing the heroic acts of the martyrs and innocent souls who bore the glories of the Arab leaders back to mind.

The lecturer dealt with the roots of Persian enmity since the era of the Babylonians and Cyrus' collusion with the Jews against the Arab Islamic state, the Persians' occupation of Ahvaz, and the erection of a monument in the name of the Sassanid state in the era of the dead and buried Shah. He also addressed himself to the European invasions of the Arab nation in the name of archaeological exploration, and the help the Persians gave them.

Dr Muzaffar 'Abdallah Amin, professor at the Higher Institute of National and Socialist Studies, spoke in the second lecture about the political situation in Iraq, comparing it with the situation in Iran, describing the axes and points of emphasis of Persian policy and its reliance on the principle of blind resentment of the Arab nation in general and Iraq in particular and cooperation and alliance with Zionist and colonialist elements to achieve expansionist designs, and referring to neglect by successive governments in Iran of domestic conditions and of the Iranian peoples in economic, political and social spheres--especially in the context of the regime of the swindler Khomeyni.

The lecture reviewed political development in the country from the beginning of this century to the outburst of the 17 July revolution, the assumption of power by the leading party, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, the stage of construction and stability, the president and commander Saddam Husayn's accession to the foremost position in the leadership of the party and the country, and the start of a new journey of resurgence and decision and a historic turning point in Iraq, which stood up as a single man to repel the Persian aggression.

The speech by Dr 'Adil Muhammad Khidr /sic/, professor at the International Institute of National and Socialist Studies, dealt with the subject of prisoners of war in Islamic Law and international agreements, emphasizing the Persian regime's violations of all that divine legal systems and agreements had endorsed regulating rules on prisoners, especially the 1949 Geneva Agreement and the protocols appended to that.

A Symposium on the Persian-Arab Struggle

After that, Messrs Latif Nasif Jasim, minister of culture and information, and Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq Qasim al-Hashimi, the minister of higher education and scientific research, attended the symposium which Baghdad University organized in the al-Bakr Auditorium of the Faculty of Medicine, which concentrated on the Persian-Arab struggle throughout history.

At the beginning of the symposium, the people in attendance stood for a minute to glorify and extoll the spirits of the martyrs of our national struggle who with their chaste blood have drenched the eastern flank of the Arab nation in defense of its past, present and future.

Profs Faruq Nasir, Khalid al-'Asali, 'Awwad Majid, 'Ala' Kazim and Sami Sa'id reviewed the initial roots of the Arab-Persian struggle throughout history, starting with their hostility toward Iraq, The Persian people's recourse to aggression, and their crushing defeats from prehistoric times to our present day when the people of Iraq, under the command of the president Saddam Husayn, rose up, in the Arabs'

second al-Qadisiyah, against Persian aggression for the sake of regaining the rights of Iraq and the Arab nation to territory and water.

The speakers stressed the ability of the people of Iraq to rout the Persians' depraved attempts. They also reviewed the cooperation between Persians and Zionists in past and present.

In his participation in discussions, on the research presented at the symposium, Mr Latif Nasif Jasim, minister of culture and information, asserted that Iraqis were indefatigable, would not flag in their self-sacrifice and would back the front up with new powers. He referred to the strength of the domestic front, in which the citizens' enduring headlong enthusiastic rush and spirit of triumph in our national struggle manifested themselves. He described the Persians' destruction of Babylon after its seige that lasted for a long period, and Cyrus' collusion with the Jews in destroying it.

A Commemorative Celebration

Mr Karim Mahmud Husayn, minister of youth, attended the commemorative celebration the ministry held for people taking part in the first domestic festival of poets and youth.

During the celebration, the minister distributed tokens of appreciation to the poets and literary persons taking part in the festival, which was held under the slogan "Young people are urged to strengthen the spirit of triumph."

In a talk he gave during the celebration, Mr Karim Mahmud Hysayn stressed the need for everyone to keep on with their efforts in their places of work in order to bolster the victories of Saddam's Qadisiyah against the racist Persians.

Mr Karim Mahmud Husayn, minister of youth, visited the youth and adolescents' training camp in the preparatory schools in al-Karkh on this occasion yesterday morning.

The minister closely followed the course of training underway in the camp, stressing that training various segments of the society in arms was of importance, in these circumstances specifically.

He praised the high morale of the valiant young persons and adolescents and their permanent readiness to bear arms and enter into the battles of dignity and honor.

He mentioned that the al-Karkh education department was opening training sessions for preparatory students in weapons, in its contribution to getting the students to hold pens in one hand and rifles in the other.

Accompanying the minister were Mr Hamid Isma'il al-Sarraj, chairman of the General Youth Training Organization, the director general of education in al-Karkh, Baghdad, and a number of ministry officials.

Prayers were held in the nation's mosques and churches for the spirits of the martyrs of the battle of dignity and honor against the racist Persian enemy.

The persons praying beseeched God to protect the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, and achieve a victory of support against the racist Persian enemy in the sacred battle we are waging in proxy for the Arab nation.

The persons praying condemned the vile, loathesome crime that the enemy committed by executing Iraqi prisoners, stressing that this filthy act was a negation of all the values and traditions that divine religions had revealed and expressed the extent of the vindictiveness against the Arab nation latent among the Persian racists.

They condemned the cowardly anti-nationalist positions of the Syrian regime and its stand in the same ranks as the Persian racists against our struggling country in the battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah, in addition to its perpetration, in cooperation with agents of the Persian regime, in the vile crime of blowing up the Iraqi embassy.

The persons giving prayers renewed the oath to the leaders of the party and the revolution and to President Saddam Husayn that they were permanently prepared to bear arms and embark on battles of dignity and honor against the racist Persian enemy so that it would yield to our just demands for territory and water.

Exhibits

Yesterday morning Mr 'Abd-al-Jabbar Muhsin, deputy minister of culture and information, inaugurated the exhibit of books dealing with the battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah which was held by the National Distribution and Advertising House in Jawad Salim Hall.

The exhibit includes books by the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, and others concerning the background of the Arab-Persian struggle, the historic enmity the racist Persians have harbored against the Arabs and the dimensions and background of the war of aggression the Persian regime has launched against our fighting country.

Mr Muwaffaq 'Askar, director general of the National Distribution and Advertising House, a number of directors general of the Ministry of Culture and Information, and groups of citizens attended the inauguration of the exhibit.

Yesterday morning Mr Nazzar Hamdun, deputy minister of culture and information, also attended an exhibition on children's drawings and the war the Children's House of Culture organized, which is to last a week.

In a statement he recorded in a register of visits, Mr Nazzar Hamdun said, "In amongst our artist brothers' artistic output I have found a spirit of love and devotion to the sacrifices of brave fighting men and the spirits of the martyrs who gave up their lives solely for the present and future of us all."

The major general and director of the general police, in a statement to IRAQ NEWS AGENCY, said that the struggle of dignity and honor against the ignorant Persian enemy has underscored all the objective factors and broad resources of the masses of our fighting people and their commitment to values and morals that derive their

inspiration from the sources of our genuine Arab legacy, which is represented by a revolutionary commitment and a consciousness of the need for the domestic front to remain firm in consolidating the spirit of victory.

Yesterday the chairman and members of the General Federation of Workers' Unions executive committee took part with the working class in factories and productive and service institutions in productive operations in supporting our national victories against the racist Persian enemy.

The president and members of the executive committee of the Baghdad Federation of Workers' Unions also appeared at labor and production sites to support increasing production and developing the productive process.

In the Governorate of al-Ta'mim, programs were started for the celebrations of the week of Saddam's Qadisiyah, which will last until next 6 January, when the masses of the governorate will celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the heroic army of Iraq.

As of yesterday morning the governorate, in its demonstrations of joy, assumed a brilliant garb of different colors in the form of banners on the facades of buildings, installations and public parks.

The Federation of Workers' Unions in al-Ta'mim celebrated the week by broadcasting the national anthem at 0800 hours in the morning in all places of work and production in the governorate, as well as organizing a series of workers' symposia dedicated to describing the dimensions of the struggle that the country is embarked upon on the eastern flank of the Arab nation against the ignorant racist Persian enemy under the command of the hero of national liberation, the fighting man Saddam Husayn.

In the Governorate of Wasit, the celebrations of the week of Saddam's Qadisiyah were started by decorating the headquarters of party, professional and people's organizations, government departments and organizations and schools with pictures of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, flags of the Republic of Iraq and the Arab revolution, and posters and signs hailing the heroic acts of our heroic forces and their great victories against the racist Persian enemy.

On the occasion, broad mass celebrations were held in the al-'Aziziyah Subdistrict, the Districts of al-Suwayrah and al-Kut, and the other districts and subdistricts organized by the branches and groups of the parties, trade unions and professional and people's federations, through which the masses affirmed their solidarity with the historic command of our party and revolution, headed by the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, and their unlimited support of our sacred struggle.

Attending the celebrations were Mr Faqzi Nasif Jasim, governor of Wasit, Comrade Hasan Hashim, member of the Wasit branch command of the party, the comrade members of party branch and group commands in the governorates, the heads of professional and mass organizations, and vast throngs of citizens.

In the Governorate of al-Qadisiyah started last week with the participation of all vocational and mass organizations and government departments in the governorate.

The activities of the week of Saddam's Qadisiyah in the governorate included the inauguration of exhibits of political books bearing on the struggle and photographs of our army's activities at the battlefront, and festivals of political hymns and songs, common poetry and speeches.

Comrade Suhayl Najm, member of the Central Labor Council and man in charge of the workers' office of the northern organization of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, called upon the masses of workers in the Governorate of Irbil to intensify their efforts and increase production to support the struggle of Saddam's Qadisiyah.

In the symposium attended by Comrade Hikmat Haji Salim, secretary of the labor board in the Irbil branch command of the party, and Mr Kamal Sabir, chairman of the Federation of Labor Unions, Irbil branch, a discussion took place on the actual state of the labor movement, the progress of the productive process and the distinctive role of labor union committees in providing the wherewithal for the resurgence and development of this process.

A Symposium of Agricultural Engineers

Yesterday the Union of Agricultural Engineers organized an enlarged symposium for its members attended by Messrs 'Amir Mahdi Salih, minister of agriculture and agrarian reform, and Thamir Arzuqi, minister of finance and head of the Agricultural Engineers' Union.

Mr Sabah Salman, vice chairman of the Journalists' Union in the country, gave a talk in which he dealt with the dimensions of the Persian aggression against revolutionary Iraq and the actual state of Iraqi-Persian relations through agreements concluded by the two countries and their violations by Iran.

Mr Sabah Salman pointed out that the Persian party violated 18 agreements starting in 1520. He described the Persians' intrigues and their schemes aimed at expansion at the expense of Arab territory, especially its eastern gateway, Iraq.

He addressed himself to the country's positive stand on stopping the fighting from a position of strength and power, referring to the assertions of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, on this subject.

The Khabat /sic/ group command organized a mass symposium attended by Comrade Walid al-'Ayish, secretary of the al-Atraf branch command of the party, which was devoted to a description of the dimensions of the Persian aggression against revolutionary Iraq and the masses' role in repelling this aggression and preserving the spirit of the victories.

Hundreds of vanguards and adolescents from the Iraq General Federation of Youth gathered before their organizations' headquarters to express, through posters, their great love for the president, Saddam Husayn, and their pride in our heroic army's victories.

The branches of the local federation of cooperative agricultural societies also organized a series of symposia to provide enlightenment on the dimensions of the struggle and the importance of upgrading the productive process to support our domestic economy and preserve the spirit of victory.

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CSO: 4404/204

RAMADAN COMMENTS ON WAR

Dimensions of War Described

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 25 Dec 81 p 6

[Article from Iraqi News Agency]

[Text] Comrade Taha Yasin delivers a lecture about the dimensions of the war Iraq is fighting against the racist, Persian enemy.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the National Command of the Socialist Arab Ba'th party affirmed that Iraq was fighting its just war against the racist, Persian enemy not only to defend its land and water rights which have been usurped, but also to defend the eastern flank of the Arab homeland.

In the lecture he delivered in the forum that was held yesterday and organized by the Arab Students' Secretariat in Baghdad, Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan indicated that this war, which began 16 months ago and in which various modern weapons were being used, has changed all the traditional military balances and understandings. [He said] this was due to the faith the Iraqi fighter has in the justice of his cause.

He said that Iraq had been quick to respond to attacks to which the Arab nation has been subjected and that Iraq supported the Arab countries that were subjected to Zionist attacks because Iraq believes in the national character of the struggle. Unfortunately, however, some Arab rulers are still standing by watching us fight the just war we are fighting against the Persian aggressors on behalf of the Arab nation.

He added that it is the fear those rulers have of the dazzling and glorious victories achieved by our brave legions that made them assume this posture. These victories awakened all the feelings of the Arab masses. Those Arab rulers know that one day they will have to answer to people and history for the crimes they committed against their people and their country.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan reviewed the country's economic policy under

the extraordinary circumstances that the country is experiencing now, and he affirmed that all those concerned with the world's economy had absolute confidence in the Iraqi economy. That confidence is the result of the average economic growth procedures [utilized] in the implementation of national development plans.

He added, "We cannot talk about evaluating the economic reality that is tied to the circumstances of the war without reference to the party's theory of construction because we are pursuing a course in which we are setting up a new experiment that is tied to the party's economic view in all activities."

He said, "The Socialist Arab Ba'th party was created because of the Arab people's need for a national revolutionary movement that would rescue them from the reality of fragmentation and backwardness." He referred to the challenges faced by the party from enemies of the Arab nation who sought to keep backwardness, exploitation and poverty in control of the capabilities of our Arab people.

The lecture was heard by Comrade Kamal Fakhuri, director of the National Office for Students and Young People of the Socialist Arab Ba'th party; by the comrades, the staff of the office; and by representatives of students' organizations in the country.

Victories Restore Confidence

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 Dec 81 p 4

[Article]

[Text] Speech by first deputy prime minister at a popular forum attributes restoration of Arabs' confidence after cases of defeat to the victories of Saddam's Qadisiyah.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan, commander in chief of the popular army affirmed that the glorious victories achieved by our brave armed forces have restored to Arabs their [sense of] self-confidence, following numerous routs and defeats from which they have been suffering for a long time.

The commander in chief of the popular army delivered a speech in the expanded popular forum which was held in al-Khuld Hall yesterday evening to commemorate the country's celebration of Saddam's Qadisiyah week. The comrade said, "The tremendous sacrifices which our proud people have been offering for the 16 months of our sacred revolutionary and national war have frustrated the hopes of Arab citizens who betrayed the nation and [the hopes of] imperialist and Zionist conspirators as well.

Comrade Taha Yasin praised the memorable heroic actions scored by our victorious armed forces over the arrogant Persian enemy. This was accomplished with the support and backing which fighters of the popular army have

provided since the beginning of the sacred battle our people have been fighting on behalf of the Arab nation.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan said, "The historical leadership of the fighting president, Saddam Husayn, has affirmed the ability of our Arab people to confront all threats, challenges and dangers; achieve one victory after another; and upgrade the course we are pursuing to its proper revolutionary dimensions."

[Our] comrade, the commander in chief of the popular army urged that our consecutive victories be utilized to serve the national battle which our country is fighting with considerable determination and might against the racist, Persian enemy and to serve the future national battles our nation will fight against Zionism and imperialism.

The multitude of people who participated in the forum promised the leadership of the party and the revolution, chief among whom is President Saddam Husayn, to pursue the course with determination and to continue supporting our sacred national battle with new blood that would consolidate the victories of our brave armed forces all along our eastern borders and reinforce the spirit of victory.

The forum was attended by Comrade Sa'dun Shakir, member of the regional command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th party and permanent secretary of the party's Baghdad organizational office. It was also attended by the comrades, the staff of the office.

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CSO: 4404/203

VARIOUS PUBLIC WORKS ACHIEVEMENTS IN COUNTRY CITED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 27 Dec 81 p 7

/Article: Completion and Construction of a Large Group of Housing Projects in Al-Ta'mim and Roads in Wasit"/

/Text/ Technical agencies in the Governorates of al-Ta'mim, Salah-al-Din and Wasit have completed a large group of housing, service and road projects, while construction is underway on similar projects costing a total of 302,415,000 dinars.

Socialist sector agencies in the Governorate of al-Ta'mim have carried out housing projects, and construction is continuing on others in their current general plan, at a cost of 172,515,000 dinars.

These projects include 5,885 housing units, 1,256 residential buildings and apartments have been built at a cost of 8,254,000 million dinars to house people affiliated with the government.

These houses are broken down among 250 in al-Rabi' Subdistrict, 200 in the Bayji Subdistrict, 156 for people affiliated with the General Oil Organization of the North, 150 for people with limited incomes, 120 apartments and 106 houses for people involved in local government, 107 for people belonging to the General Oil Products Distribution Organization, and 73 houses for people belonging to the Kirkuk Irrigation Project Department.

The local government administration, the Kirkuk Irrigation Project Department, the General Oil Organization of the North and two international firms are constructing 3,629 housing units at a cost that comes to 166,261,000 dinars.

In the Governorate of Salah-al-Din, local government agencies have carried out diverse projects this year at a cost of 6.4 million dinars.

Work is now continuing on the construction of other projects costing 7 million dinars.

Projects that have been carried out include a plant for pipe and concrete blocks, another for floor and wall tiles, dormitories for students with a capacity of 240 beds in the District of Takrit, government buildings in the Subdistricts of Salman

Bey, Dijlah and al-'Alam and the District of Tuz, dwellings in the Districts of Samarra' and Balad, housing complexes in the Subdistricts of Qadir Karam and Nawjul, 50 homes to lodge people affiliated with domestic security forces distributed among various areas of the governorate, a youth center in the Districts of Tuz, Bayji and al-Dawr, six kindergartens, four intermediate schools with 24 classrooms in Samarra' and Takrit, and four primary schools with six classrooms and an intermediate school of the same capacity in the Districts of Balad and al-Dawr.

In the Governorate of Wasit, over the period of Saddam's Qadisiyah, the governorate roads department has built 375 kilometers of roads out of a total of 703 kilometers at a cost of 114.5 million dinars, and work is now underway on construction of the rest of them.

These roads are broken down among the towns of al-Ahrar, al-Nu'maniyah, al-Zubay-diyah, al-Suwayrah, al-Kut, East 'Ali, Kut, Jisan, Badrah, and Zarbatiyah, in addition to agricultural roads, the al-Dalmaj, al-Basha'ir, 7 April, Kut-Muwaffaqiyah-Hayy, Zubaydah-Shuhaymiyah, and Suwayrah-Shuhaymiyah roads, and a 140-kilometer border road.

These roads, which range from 7 to 8 meters in width, include the construction of 407 culverts and 158 bridges distributed among the flood and stream areas.

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CSO: 4404/204

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES ANALYZED

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 719, 25 Nov 81 p 7

[Editorial: "I Say"]

[Text] The recent statements made by the minister of finance reconfirm the government's emphasis on its current economic policy, giving priority to financial growth such as stocks, bonds and loans, while disregarding investments in areas of national industry. Not only that, but as the minister states, Kuwait wants to evolve into a financial market and the government wants to spur financial activity, and a new liberal policy will soon be implemented to encourage the formation of new investment banking firms.

I say that for more than a decade, all of our national economy has been dependent on financial, real property and service growth in the private sector. Why then does the government try to hurl all investments into the fields of finance, real property and loans, as well as deposits, when it has refused all deserving offers to help set up rules and regulations to organize investments in the private sector and to direct portions of such investments into the area of industrial growth?

I say this policy does not create a strong economy, nor does it guarantee a secure future for our country and for coming generations. A firm and guaranteed structure lies in building and developing national industry from our primary material resources such as oil, and in building a labor force of Kuwaitis and Arabs in conjunction with those Arab countries that have already experienced industrial growth and with friendly Third World countries.

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CSO: 4404/150

'AL-TALI'AH 'CONDEMNS PASSAGE OF CONGREGATION LAW

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 719, 25 Nov 81 p 10

[Editorial: "Democratic Freedoms Are Destroyed in the Name of Democracy"]

[Text] In a closed parliamentary session, law No 65-1979 concerning public meetings and congretation was passed.

We say this law was passed in a closed session in the complete absence of parliamentary activity, and it was one of a series of laws that aim to destroy democratic life in the country. This painful blow was immediately and directly reflected in breaking the citizen's role down to nothing and restraining him from partaking in any attempts to impede the issues impacting on the nation and on its citizens.

Banners hung on the gates of a few elegant villas caused the activities of the people's democratic organizations to be curtailed and consigned to oblivion. Sentiments were suppressed and the law pointed its spearhead at the hearts of those who would, under the intense suppression, dare express their stands and viewpoints, threatening them with punishment the harshest in severity and deterrence of which deprived people from expressing even an opinion on issues that are of extreme importance to the country and its citizens.

This is the essence of the congregation law. It was adopted to give the government complete liberty to carry out everything it sees fit without being harassed or having its freedoms infringed by those for whom and by whom actions have been taken.

Thus, citizens have waited impatiently. Nationalist and democratic forces, using their bases, objectives and principles, began defending the return of parliamentary life in order to have these nightmarish laws off the citizens' backs, knowing full well that this goal cannot be achieved except through the reinstatement of parliamentary government. A parliamentary government will set out to abolish any obstructions to the full scope of democratic freedoms in the country, and it will allow its sons and those dedicated to it to actively contribute toward improving conditions in the country and to lay down the foundations for its evolution, growth and prosperity, with the full realization that tasks as difficult as these cannot be attained unless all forms of political, economic and social awareness are extended. These can only be accomplished through democratic freedoms.

But the parliament forsook us. Through governmental pressure and influence, and under illusory justifications, representatives voted on this law by contradicting all of their stands and avowals that were contained in their campaign statements.

Regretfully, citizens face new disappointments with the passing of each day. A law has been established to initiate a department at the high court to look into administrative disputes. A new press law is forthcoming and others are still to come.

Many think it is odd (certainly not us) how the representatives of the people could legalize laws aimed at the hearts of the citizens who elected them to the parliament. These laws are not contradictory of democratic freedoms except when it is considered that democracy is the route toward building the desired life of the future.

Members of parliament: What would you like this future life to be?

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CSO: 4404/150

NEW PRESS LAW SAID TO DESTROY DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 719, 25 Nov 81 p 8

[Article by Muhammad al-Baghdadi: "Fetch the Sword, O Ye Lad"]

[Text] Often does a reader of Arabic history from its many resources come across a phrase of few words but as rich with interpretations such as this one that the sultan invoked against anyone, whether an insider or an outsider, whom he caught violating one of his Majlis' rules. If anyone in attendance violated the right of the sultan, the sultan would cry out to the lad to fetch the sword, and the sword would come down and behead the outlaw, in obedience to the sultan's order. The same story was repeated with different names and places, but the picture remained the same--that of a despotic authority that believed it was supreme and that there was nothing to check or impede it or any of its key elements. The goal in point was to spread this rule as a fait accompli over everyone, and no one dared reject it. Allegiance to it was imperative and an ordinance all had to obey.

In that age, this could only be interpreted in the sense that the sultan saw himself as the source of law and the only party with authority to enforce it in any way befitting his moods. Certainly, he thought of nothing other than the sword. It was both the enemy and the judge. Now, after the Arab world has entered the last quarter of the 20th century, has the picture changed? No, the elements are just the same, a deep-rooted authority, dictated law and compulsory obedience, and the beheading of those who would dare utter either an expression of or a de facto opposition. What has changed is the tool of execution. Instead of crying out to the lad to fetch the sword, the authority now cries out to the minister to search the first or the second clause of the press law. Nor has the goal changed, which is to get rid of the opposition--which is, as every one knows, the freedom of all of the people--by any means and at any cost.

In a previous article, we wrote that the parliament, in its present form, is not qualified to fulfill the ambitions of the Kuwaiti people. The situation has reached the point that one of its members scorned the press and law No 35 by reiterating the government's inferior alternative offer saying: He who does not accept a jar, let him accept a jar and a lamb, too. To this extent has sarcasm subjugated freedom, the holy of holies to the people. We did not hear of any official responding to the remark made by this irresponsible member, but it made us aware of the parliament's weak political structure in confronting the authority,

knowing full well that parliament in its present form lacks equality, which makes it easy to disrupt the elements of opposition. This is what happened when the rug was pulled out from beneath the parliament when an alternative to the press law was submitted while the old law was still in effect. This put the parliament in an unenviable position. I do not believe that the parliament will get to choose between either of the two alternatives; the sweeter of the two is bitter, and I sincerely hope that the representatives will not outlive this portrayal and will act to annul the old law and reject the new law by offering a more suitable alternative, even though I see this as a dream.

After all, what can we say to the officials and to those who elected them to their posts. Mouths have been muted, hands benumbed and the minds focused on stockmarket trading. There remains only a small perservering group awaiting a glimpse of hope from the parliament, which is supposed to stand firm on the side of the freedom of the people of Kuwait in confronting despotic authority of its inception.

Have Kuwaitis begun living in a period of backward growth, as it has been labelled by a Kuwaiti Phd? Would the representatives and the worthy people of Kuwait allow this to happen? It is not enough to reply "no," and I wish the answer were not "yes."

Should the second condition ever occur, and should the authority be able to impose itself on the parliament and convince its members of the necessity of enacting this law, depending on the false saying that "hard times are inflicting the region," then it would not surprise us if we hear anew the voice of authority crying out, "Fetch the sword, O ye lad."

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CSO: 4404/150

LEFTIST POLITICAL LEADER DISCUSSES NEAR-TERM OUTLOOK

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 251, 12 Dec 81 pp 43-48

[Interview with Mr In'am Ra'd, chairman of the Syrian National Socialist Party by AL-MUSTAQBAL: "Syria, the Resistance and the National Movement Take the Same Positions on Electing a Lebanese President"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In this conversation, AL-MUSTAQBAL talks with one of the most prominent leaders of the central political council of the Lebanese National Movement, Mr In'am Ra'd, Chairman of the Syrian National Socialist Party.

The importance of this conversation lies in the fact that it focuses on a group of considerations and circumstances, some connected to the history of this party in Lebanon and the region, some connected to the following premises:

First, the position of leadership the party has occupied within the National Movement as a strategic ally of the Palestinian resistance, Syria and the liberation movement in the Arab world.

Second, the effective, influential role it has played in the Lebanese crisis since it emerged in the political and military contexts, in view of the careful organization, disciplined conduct and firm positions it has been noted for.

Third, and perhaps most important at the present time, the dialogue and the Lebanese crisis are at a crossroad and some people predict they will proceed along the road to settlement and solution, while others predict they are headed for a further blowup.

Proceeding from this final consideration, the dialogue with Mr In'am Ra'd began with the following question:

"A great deal of talk is going on now about the possibility that a blowup will occur in the security situation or that fighting will resume on the Lebanese stage as the date for the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai next April approaches. What do you yourself say?"

In'am Ra'd replied, "We expect such an outburst, because there is a permanent relationship between what happens on the Egyptian stage and what is being planned in our stage. I well remember that the second Sinai agreement was pushed through in the context of the explosion on the Lebanese stage in 1975, and the Camp David agreement

was preceded by the Israeli invasion of the south. Thus this style in the imperialist-Zionist schemes has permanently accustomed us to the fact that explosions will occur on our stage within the framework of the conspiracy, which is based on the assumption that national perseverance on this stage will foil the results of the American-Zionist scheme in the region, which has been aimed at Egypt from the Sinai agreement to Camp David.

Question Since you consider that every outburst is in the interests of the enemy and his allies, do the National Movement, the Palestinian resistance and Syria, as allied powers, possess the power to prevent such outbursts, or is it a fate that has been imposed upon you?

Answer That depends on the way the outburst takes place. If Israeli operations occur, we can only defend our territory and people in face of them. This is the fate of any liberation movement that is up against colonialism and its settlement schemes. If there is a heightening of political tension caused by secessionist parties, especially the Phalange Party, the National Movement's platform is to strive for calm. Therefore the latest security plan which has been carried out in Beirut and the southern suburb, and we hope will be established in general throughout other Lebanese areas, is aimed at the quest for calm, because we are in favor of a political solution to the Lebanese crisis - once Israeli landmines are removed. We are sincere about this platform and we consider that the outbursts on our stage are the enemy's doing. If there is any sort of military escalation, we must cope with such military escalation, if it is limited in scope, and avoid a corresponding escalation, but if it is of a scope that disturbs the peace in the nationalist sections, then it must be deterred.

Question Do you believe that such a probable outburst will be tactical and aimed at pushing a specific stage through, or will it be a turning point toward new catastrophes in the Lebanese crisis - meaning is it tactical or strategic?

Answer The fact is that the imperialist-Zionist scheme, as far as the region goes, resorts to such tactical outbursts in order to push its strategy through. However, that does not mean that this scheme does not have a strategy, especially in Lebanon. This scheme is tactical with regard to strategy in the region and strategic with regard to Lebanon.

What is the American-Zionist alliance's strategy as far as Lebanon goes? There is an American approach to restore Lebanon to the zone of American influence. This is apparent in the official Lebanese working paper whose concern is how to get the army to take the place of the deterrent forces and set forth a program for gradually withdrawing the deterrent forces from Lebanon, and how to get the international emergency forces, along with the army, to take the place of the Palestinian resistance and the joint forces in Lebanon. The purpose in this has been to take Lebanon out of the unified national security balance so that Lebanon could be brought back into the sphere of American influence.

Naturally here one can proceed to strengthen the legitimate authorities on a basis of isolating Lebanon from its national environment. The Israeli scheme has greater aspirations than just restoring a united Lebanon to the American sphere of influence and taking it out of the national security balance. It is aimed at carrying out the Sharett-Ben Guiron-Eliyahu Sassoon scheme discussed in February-March 1954 in the

official correspondence published by Moshe Sharett in his memoirs, which had the objective of causing the area to explode, starting with Lebanon, in order to create introverted factional entities that were allied with the Zionist entity, in order to establish a reactionary new system in the region founded on factional contradictions and revolving in the universe of the Zionist entity. At that point, the premises of an Israeli peace would be firmly implanted on the basis of the fragmentation in our society, because war between us and the Zionist enemy is a war of existence, and wars of existence mean not only army occupation of territory, or the establishment of racist colonialist settlements that uproot people from territory, as happened in Palestine - rather, the new notion of the Zionist scheme lies in fragmenting our being from the ground up, by shattering this being and turning it from a national or ethnic being into self-contradictory factional beings.

The Zionist intention is to suppress our society and gradually eliminate it. Suppressing it means that it must not enter the era of progress. The era of progress requires a united national state. Therefore Israel is against any union plans in the natural environment of Palestine. It is even against the survival of the entities, the Sykes-Picot entities, in their actual state; rather, it wants a new Sykes-Picot which will break these entities down into factional racist statelets in its own image. In the scientific field, it has prevented us from having modern scientific equipment; the bombing of the nuclear reactor in Baghdad indicates that it is not permissible for us to enter the era of the modern state on either a secular or nationalist basis. The first demand is not just that we continue to be as we are, or revert to the era of mutually antagonistic factional tribes, but rather that this stage of mutually antagonistic tribes and artificial political entities be a process of bleeding the national being to death, because a nation cannot endure if it is full of contradictory bleeding wounds. This threatens its identity and results in the eradication of its being.

Question So you consider that Lebanon has emerged from the American sphere of influence and America now wants to bring it back into its sphere of influence.

Answer Official Lebanon has not emerged from that sphere. Part of Lebanon, the smallest part of it, is under Zionist influence. However, the overwhelming part of Lebanon, in the nationalist areas, stands for the unity of Lebanon, its national affiliation, and solidarity with the national environment, especially Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization. This specifically means emerging from the sphere of American influence. It is natural that the Lebanese National Movement and the national forces in the national ranks that have formed solidarity with the Palestinian resistance and Syria constitute the triangle of national perseverance in this arena, opposed to Zionist and American schemes and consequently opposed to the Camp David platform and all capitulationist settlements. This is distressing to American policy and to Israeli policy and therefore Lebanon must be brought back into the realm of compliance.

Question If we accept what you have said and go back to what is called the game of the nations, don't you believe that this American onslaught to bring Lebanon back into the American sphere of influence will bring Lebanon deeper and deeper into the game of international struggle going on in this area, especially since it is natural that the Soviet Union should resist in order to keep the situation as it is?

Answer We can in fact deal with that question by saying that internationalization of the Lebanese crisis has been carried out by one party, the American-Israeli party.

Arab unanimity has been reached on the nature of the relationship with the Zionist enemy (which was the subject of doubt and dispute among numerous Arab parties that accused us of exaggeration) in the Arab League and through the Arab Followup Committee. This has made the precondition of national reconciliation the openly declared severance of relations with the enemy and the firm adherence to this open declaration -- although we have reservations over the seriousness of these measures.

This clearly means that there is an Arab consensus, through the Arab League, that the internationalization of the Lebanese crisis has occurred in connection with the Zionist enemy. If internationalization occurred through a single party, then the American emissaries, from Draper to Phillip Habib, are always bringing ideas which manifest themselves in the working paper of the Lebanese authorities, because we do not believe that taking Lebanon out of the national security balance in the face of the Zionist enemy will maintain a vacuum, for a vacuum, in physics, must be filled. If the filling process takes place under American influence or Israeli hegemony, or both, then internationalization will be going on at full speed under the aegis of the American-Israeli party, at which point it will become the right of the national progressive party to demand aid from the other international party.

What gave Churchill and Roosevelt the right to ally themselves with the Soviet Union in World War II against the Nazi onslaught while the Arabs, specifically the nationalist Lebanese, through their national affiliation, don't have the right to try to ally themselves with the Soviet Union in order to stand up to the Zionist onslaught, which is like the Nazi one? This parallel puts us squarely before the issue of internationalization since while we do not demand internationalization, but demand national independence, colonialist internationalization is proceeding apace, so we would like to balance it off with an alliance with the Soviet Union, so that such an alliance could lead to extirpation of the internationalization process.

Question But such alliance with the Soviet Union has not decided the situation, since it has kept us as we are. This leads us to say that we are still succumbing to the international polarization game and are not on the verge of a solution.

Answer We say that we are seeking an alliance with the Soviet Union, but we do not say that this alliance has been consummated in practice so that we could make the Soviet Union bear responsibility for the polarization that has occurred. As I said, internationalization has occurred on the part of one party, the American-Israeli party, which has interfered in the Lebanese crisis in accordance with the explanation I gave. The Soviet party -- and this is clear from the recent meeting Ambassador Soldatov had with the president -- is still dealing with legitimate Lebanese authorities on the basis of the unity of Lebanon and resolution of the Lebanese crisis. Let us not forget that Ambassador Soldatov met Bashir al-Jumayyil, that is, that he is open to all parties in his attempt to find a solution. Rather, we are seeking an alliance with the Soviet Union in the direction of a decisive resolution, and this has not yet been achieved. Therefore, in other words, the polarization that has taken place has been on the part of one party, the American-Israeli party.

Question What ingredients, circumstances and considerations are still keeping this demand for an alliance with the Soviet Union from being realized in practice?

Answer The Soviet Union has so far tried, as I said, as a great power, to be for all the Lebanese, and promote the process of national reconciliation through the

legitimate authorities. Naturally it has its own policies, calculations and considerations. This does not keep it from dealing with the Lebanese National Movement as an ally and friend, just from aligning itself totally with the movement's position. In fact there is a certain gap between the Soviet position and that of the National Movement. This gap lies in the fact that the Soviet Union is open to all Lebanese parties and earnestly attempts to reconcile them. This is what Soviet policy seems to us to be. We are not in a position where we could have total information on the dimensions of this policy.

Question The National Movement, which represents the other party in the struggle, has, since the beginning, continued to complain of two basic matters, first the lack of independence of decisionmaking and the fact that it always makes the accusation that it is dependent on Arab or Palestinian decisions, and secondly contradictions within its own organizations that have often led to internal clashes and conflicts.

Answer As far as the National Front's internal situation goes, we can say that in spite of the marginal struggles that have occurred among the parties to the National Movement, our political decisions always have been to emphasize the greater contradictions with the Zionist enemy and its puppets over other secondary contradictions. One should bear in mind that this kind of decision sometimes costs the blood of martyrs or the prime of the genuine party's experienced fighting men. However, we are a party that is committed to the interests of the national cause and not even to our own existence, which has been mobilized for the sake of the national cause.

The National Movement succeeded last year in carrying out its political charter and its organizational charter in the direction of further consolidating its ranks. We hope that steps will be more rapidly taken to consolidate these ranks on the basis of the political and organizational unity of the National Movement, proceeding from the premise of the transformation and the participation we are always propounding.

As regards the independence of Lebanese national decisionmaking, we view the situation from an angle that is perhaps delicate and distinctive, since we consider that the format of the Lebanese National Movement or the format of the Palestine Liberation Movement, that is, the format of national struggle, is a legitimate tentative one and that it is necessary to highlight the identity of the people and their overwhelming majority and where they stand. The Palestinian people stand alongside the Palestine Liberation Organization against the Israeli occupation, and the Lebanese people stand alongside the national ranks and the Lebanese National Movement. As a result we are nationalists, and independence of national decisionmaking arises from the national interest and national solidarity and affiliation.

This means that if we are in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance, we will be protecting its rifles and will be defending its legitimate right to struggle for the sake of Palestine. This solidarity arises from a national consciousness, not from the mortgaging of national decisions to other decisionmaking forces. The same thing applies to national solidarity with Syria, which constitutes our strategic national hinterland. Conversely, the more the Lebanese National Movement exercises its Lebanese national independence, the more it is an armor for the Palestinian and Syrian flanks of the national cause. The most important thing we want to stress is that the struggle to settle Lebanon's identity and its national affiliation and to settle its political system, development and democratic reform is among the Lebanese.

This struggle existed before the Palestinian resistance. We are parties whose existence in part goes back more than 50 years, thus before the Palestine Liberation Organization existed. We were on the side of Palestine and against the Zionist scheme many decades before there was a liberation organization. We were in favor of unity and in favor of the national hinterland before any regime was established in the area. Thus, in other words, when we call for national solidarity with Syria or the Liberation Organization, we are expressing our national consciousness, which goes back half a century, and our decisions are not dependent on anyone. These are convictions of principle on our part and, as I said, national solidarity does not mean effacing the national personality or eliminating national decisionmaking.

Question I do not want to use the word "failure," but I can say that the National Movement has not succeeded, throughout the years of the crisis, in creating any type of solidarity between itself and the base of the people, because of the practices that some of its organizations and allies have exhibited. Why didn't the National Movement try on a daily basis to solve the problem of the contradiction between the notion of resistance and the notion of governance, which is what helped cause the crisis to erupt?

Answer The question may be broken up into two parts, one concerning the relationship between the National Movement and the masses of the people, and another related to the notion of resistance and the notion of governance and the National Movement's efforts to reconcile them. As regards the former issue, we absolutely cannot accept that a gap has been created between the National Movement and the masses of the people in the past 3 years. In our statement on the anniversary of the establishment of the party, we demanded that glamour be restored to the Lebanese national plan, and I believe that on that subject we do not differ with any of our brothers in the National Movement: Mr Muhsin Ibrahim, the executive Secretary general of the National Movement, also in a statement on the same occasion, propounded the same statement, stressing that a gap had arisen between the National Movement and the masses of its people. However, the important thing is that we realize the reasons. Some of these reasons may actually be attributed to the fact that the National Movement vacillated in its political plan until it set out its latest political charter, which took a decisive stand on many of the affairs in the region, because some people had bet on a possibility for reconciliation and the fact that authorities might have an independent plan. It became obvious, especially in 'Ayn al-Rummanah, that the authorities did not have an independent plan. I told a major Arab official on the Followup Committee, on the sideline of one of its meetings, that what we ourselves are saying on this subject is sometimes looked at as a factional appeal, but what can you say when Mr Amin al-Jumayyil said the same thing in a statement he made, published in a magazine (AL-MUSTAQBAL, number 205, dated 24 January 1981), directing blame against the Lebanese government and its president for permitting the army to retreat and fall back in the face of the Phalange at 'Ayn al-Rummanah? When the relationship between the official authorities and the Phalange Party reaches the point of ignoring respect for the basic institution, that is, the army, in that party's interests, then any independent plan the legitimate authorities have will collapse. This is as I said - "a witness gave testimony on his own kind." Naturally we can only objectively adhere to what others beside us have said and not to what we ourselves have said. The Council of Ministers, for example, drew up a defense policy 2 years ago based on two considerations: this was that the army had two missions -- confronting the Zionist enemy and striking out at forms of secessionism within Lebanon.

The former mission requires defense coordination with Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization and does not entail a contradiction. The latter mission calls for striking out against forms of secessionism and not for coexistence with them, as is the case in the port of Beirut and other areas. Thus the government does not have an independent plan, in the light of these practices. Thus the failure to be decisive in the past, as regards the government's plan, caused political confusion in the National Movement, and my description of this issue will illuminate the other half of the question, in the sense of what governance is and what relations with the resistance are.

The second reason is that the Lebanese National Movement, contrary to all opinions, has not acquired adequate Arab support. Many Arab parties continue to believe that the National Movement for example represents the left and that the Phalange represents the right, and they are on the side of the right. A misrepresentation of the true nature of the struggle on the Lebanese stage has occurred. Therefore the Lebanese National Movement, in some stages, has reached a point where it finds itself isolated, or nearly isolated, in the Arab context. I remember very well that in 1975 for example six Arab appeals were directed to Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil and the National Movement managed to visit just two or three Arab capitals.

A final point I would like to make in this regard is that our people have endured a great deal in the last 7 years, through civil war and constant foreign aggression, and it is natural that there should be some people who are inclined toward a solution in any form, especially when they do not see a solution near at hand.

None of this is to deny the excesses that have occurred, nor, on the other hand, is it to deny the shortcomings that have occurred. Indeed, we direct self-criticism against ourselves first of all and against all parties to the National Movement for the excesses that have occurred and the shortcomings that have occurred. However, self-criticism does not eliminate objective causes.

We come to the last part of your question, the subject of governance and resistance. I say, what governance? Let us produce a government that applies the defense policy that that government endorsed and let us take all the concessions from the resistance.

The Palestinian resistance is carrying its rifles in the face of the Zionist enemy, and it is a sacred duty to protect these rifles. However, we must not compel the resistance to carry its rifles in order to defend itself against direct or treacherous gradual plans to liquidate it.

Question In such a case, there is nothing to prevent the president from forming a cabinet drawn from the National Movement.

Answer We are not demanding a factional solution. The fact is that the National Movement's tentative aspirations do not go so far as to demand power. That might be its legitimate future demand, but we are in favor of a National Salvation Front that includes all political activities and leaders, from former President Franjiah to Mr Jean 'Aziz, as well as Former Premiers Karami, al-Huss and al-Sulh and others, the AMAL movement, and all Lebanese patriots, in spite of their different currents. It is this front, in our opinion, that will represent the overwhelming majority of our people. It will be open to every Lebanese who stands against relationship with the Zionist enemy and on the side of Lebanon's national affiliation and the reform of its political system.

In other words, the National Movement will not relinquish its political right to share power when a national reconciliation takes place. Would that the Phalange Party had not followed the platform of relations with the Israeli enemy -- then national reconciliation would have come about, because, and this point must become clear, we, although we have been a progressive party and have a program which can be described as belonging to the left, nonetheless open our hearts in the national and domestic struggle to the right and the left, and our ranks contain Christians and Moslems. In other words, the struggle in Lebanon is not a Christian-Moslem struggle, and it is not a left-right struggle. Rather, it is the struggle of the nation against those who are trying to abandon it.

Question You talked about what is known as a broad front. This has been at issue for years, but so far it has not taken practical form, in spite of the existence of nationalist parties, organizations and personalities that are in near agreement over broad national lines and principles. This indicates that there is some lack of stability as a consequence of conflicts between personal interests, or touchy feelings.

Answer The title, in our view, should be the Comprehensive National Salvation Front. Recently steps have been taken in the direction of a comprehensive front, and naturally there is a receptivity to this matter on the part of all parties. In any event, in our latest political statement, we also called for haste in bringing this front about, because if it is established some time before the presidential elections that will assist the proper selection or crystallization of the will of the majority of the Lebanese in a sound direction. What cannot be doubted is that stabilizing security conditions in nationalist areas will be more helpful in establishing such a front. Therefore we have supported the latest security measures, considering that they constitute favorable ground for a political dialogue and political activity that will spring from the establishment of such a front. Naturally this front, as I have said, is open to all Lebanese who adhere to the unity of Lebanon, including naturally Dean Raymond Iddih, whom we have tried and are trying to have return to the nation and be a basic pillar in this front, in accordance with the rule of the unity of Lebanon and its national affiliation.

Question The basic question remains, why hasn't this front yet seen the light of day, or at least why haven't its practical organizational context and basic nuclei been spelled out yet? What is the problem?

Answer Its basic nuclei are well known. I myself have mentioned the basic leaders who could be in this front, in addition to the Lebanese National Movement, which is a basic nucleus for broad front action. However, as I said in my previous answer, stabilizing the security situation will help establish this front, because the state of attrition from peripheral skirmishes has helped impede the consummation of this kind of political action.

Question Do you consider that the basic obstacle has been the security factor?

Answer That is one of the basic obstacles but not the only one. Another obstacle may perhaps be defined as the state of political stagnation in national ranks. The establishment of such a front requires continuous, intensified efforts. Sometimes that has occurred in seasonal form, and there has been a surge toward political action; then months have gone by and it has seemed that the matter was not so urgent, although we consider that the matter of establishing this kind of front is of the

utmost urgency. I would like to add that the organizational unity of the National Movement is a basic matter because the National Movement cannot take part in broader front activity before its own organizational unity is securely implanted on all levels.

Question Do you expect that this front will emerge before the presidential elections or are the obstacles still too great?

Answer We hope that it will be established before the presidential elections. Otherwise there will be no subsequent justification for the front. It has always had a justification, but after that its basic justification will lose much value because we consider that election of the president will be an important political turning point. This political turning point may come about only on the ground, through the crystallization of the will of the majority of the Lebanese people, political leaders and deputies in the direction of supporting the program's candidate and not personal benefits.

Question You said that the presidential elections will be an important turning point this time. To avoid being inundated later in the game of haggling that ordinarily produces a president, what will the orientation and the position of the National Movement be in determining the specifications of the new president and setting out the platform of principle by which he must proceed?

Answer Naturally a preliminary search is going on, but I can say, on the basis of the policy of the National Movement and some of its leaders, among them ourselves, that the choice will be made in accordance with the following bases:

First, belief in the unity of Lebanon and commitment to this unity against all forms of secession.

Second, assertion of Lebanon's Arab affiliation, not in form but in deed.

Third, political reform in the system as regards the elimination of political factionalism and overall democratic reforms in the system.

These three rules could summarize the National Movement's initiative on behalf of national reconciliation as set out by Mr Walid Junblat in the name of the National Movement at the Beau Rivage conference, which became the 14 principles of President Sarkis' message. It is on the basis of this general orientation that we will support a candidate for the presidency. The National Movement's initiative and the 14 principles have spelled out the distinctive relationship with Syria and coordination with the Palestine Liberation Organization in a manner that will preserve its existence and its legitimate rights, in accordance with the agreements concluded between the government and the Liberation Organization. This is from the official point of view. Naturally we, as a nationalist party, say that the presence of Syria in Lebanon, or the presence of the Liberation Organization in Lebanon, has transcended official forms and has gone into the national hinterland, but we are speaking the language of politics and an official language, and we say that there is a distinctive relationship with Syria and that there is an agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Question With regard to the sensitive, serious nature of the circumstances in this stage, and the importance of this struggle, don't you believe that the situation

requires the holding of serious working meetings among the National Movement, Syria and the Palestinian resistance in order to arrive at a unified vision of the new president?

/Answer/ We believe that that has happened and that there has been an understanding. Naturally, it is not to be ruled out that meetings will take place on this subject especially, but there has been an understanding on these directives. Let us state that the Palestine Liberation Organization has more than once declared that it will accept what the Lebanese National Movement accepts. This for example underlines the independence of Lebanese national decisionmaking, with its Palestinian support. Syria also asserted this position more than once during our dialogue with the Followup Committee.

/Question/ Some Arab officials say or believe that the Arab Followup Committee is proceeding with firm strides to unlock the complexities of the Lebanese crisis? Is that correct, and where has the Followup Committee gone and where does it stand?

/Answer/ Let us state that the agenda, to which the Arab Followup Committee has committed itself is a sound platform in terms of priorities. That is, the prelude to national reconciliation lies in severing relations with the Zionist enemy and steadfastly avoiding them, then making the issue of the army a basic feature of national reconciliation, and not have a security plan imposed on national reconciliation. Let us say that the Arab Followup Committee has passed through a period of vacillation because of the attempt by the Lebanese authorities to humiliate it, contrary to its agenda, through partial security plans and the attempt to insert the army into these plans by giving security matters precedence over political ones and things of this sort. On this basis, the Arab Followup Committee measures proceeded slowly but it does not bear as much responsibility for this slowness as do the Lebanese parties we have referred to.

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CSO: 4404/211

LEBANON

FRANCO-ALGERIAN INITIATIVE TO SETTLE LEBANESE CRISIS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 250, 5 Dec 81 p 24

[Article by Ghassan Bayram]

[Text] Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan was accused of exaggerating when he hastened to hold a press conference after it was announced that the Fez summit meetings were postponed. At the conference he spoke of the victory that Lebanon won in Fez.

Many political questions were asked in the Lebanese capital about the real meaning of the victory which the prime minister announced, although the recommendations made in Fez were no more than a repetition of previous recommendations concerning southern Lebanon that had been adopted at many Arab conferences. The speaker of Parliament Kamil al-As'ad also held a press conference.

There is no doubt that Minister of Foreign Affairs Fu'ad Butrus with his objectivity quickly attempted to tone down the exaggeration of the prime minister when he said that the victory will come through the implementation of the Arab decisions because implementation is the true measure of the credibility of the resolutions and of those who adopt them.

The Lebanese delegation to the Arab summit felt that perhaps this time Algeria more than the other Arab states was interested in participating and working to carry out the recommendations passed by the Fez conference in the only session that was held. That was in response to the content of the Lebanese working paper.

This Lebanese feeling developed after President Ilyas Sarkis met Muhammad bin Yahya, Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs and head of its delegation to the summit, in the presence of Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and Foreign Affairs Minister Fu'ad Butrus.

The background of this Algerian initiative and the enthusiasm shown by Minister Bin Yahya were inspired by two main considerations:

The first consideration is that Algeria believes that what was decided at the Fez summit regarding the situation in southern Lebanon completes the role that it previously began to play when al-Akhdar al-Ibrahimi came to Beirut as an envoy from President al-Shadili bin Jadid in an effort to convince the Lebanese and the

Palestinians of the need for mutual understanding and coordination to prevent Israel from subjugating the South militarily.

In the course of the Fez summit, the Lebanese delegation became aware of Algeria's unwillingness to be satisfied with just a passive mediation role.

Rather, it wants this mediation to be continuous and play a practical role in attempts at implementing the new-old recommendations, especially those concerning implementation of the Security Council's resolutions on extending the international force up to the borders with Israel and then facilitating the entry of the Lebanese army into the region in addition to fulfilling the commitment of the Palestinian resistance to halt its operations in the South.

The second consideration can be considered one of the basic factors in inducing Algeria to act on behalf of southern Lebanon. This initiative will occur within the scope of a greater initiative which Algeria is expected to undertake along with France in arranging better circumstances to help achieve a peace in the Middle East that will end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Reliable information indicates that intensive consultations recently took place at high levels between the French and Algerian capitals and that these contacts developed in the course of preparations for French President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Algeria. They are focused specifically on the possibility of France and Algeria launching a joint undertaking to lay the foundation of an Arab-Israeli peace process that takes into account the plan of Saudi Crown Prince Fahd.

This information was confirmed when Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis on the eve of his trip to the Fez summit received a report that discussed in detail the contacts that preceded the publication of the statement of the European powers--France, Britain, Italy, Holland--who decided to participate in the multinational force in Sinai. The report said that Israel, which initially refused to accept such European participation in the peace force, is now inclined to accept it.

The statement outlined the results of the contacts that took place in this connection. It is clear that Israel found herself compelled to accept European participation for the following reasons:

First, American pressure exerted on Israel to accept European participation in the Sinai force and warning of the consequences of any Israeli stubbornness or intransigence in rejecting this European position.

Second, Egypt's acceptance of European participation without any qualification of the statement issued by the four European powers.

Third, the unyielding attitude of France in insisting on joining the Sinai force and refusing to allow any modification of the statement issued by the Europeans. President Mitterrand threatened that Israel's continued refusal would make him reconsider the visit he was intending to make to Israel early next year. Moreover, an Israeli refusal would not only place Franco-Israeli relations in jeopardy but also aggravate its relations with the states of the European community.

In the Franco-Israeli contacts that President Mitterrand took charge of personally, the French capital displayed unparalleled sternness regarding the need for the European participation in accordance with what came in the published statement without any modification thereof.

The underlying reason for France's sternness is that President Mitterrand, who was behind the European decision to join the Sinai force, considers that the first main step in involving Europe, France in particular, in the Middle East peace process as a partner in organizing the process, for without such involvement it would be impossible for France to take new steps to carry out the preparations for it. The broad lines (of the process) have been drawn up and the goals that (France) wishes to achieve are defined.

In this connection, the report that the Lebanese president received indicates that President Mitterrand would study with President Shadhili bin Jadid the plan for a Franco-Algerian initiative to bring about peace between the Arabs and Israel and that this initiative would be based on the Saudi peace plan.

According to the French concept, President Mitterrand believes mutual understanding with Algeria on this initiative will be a prime accomplishment since Algeria as an Arab country and a mainstay of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front will be able to approach the states within the Front and the moderate Arab states while President Mitterrand will personally undertake to deal with the Israeli position and make this subject a basic and priority item in his talks with Israeli leaders during his forthcoming visit to that country.

The available information on this matter indicates that the two parties, the French and the Algerians, want to keep secret the details of the plan. It also suggests that the French side thinks the month of June may be a suitable time for announcing the initiative after the work and necessary preparations are completed.

In view of what happened at the Fez summit, it now seems important, therefore, to ask how that will affect the Franco-Algerian initiative or any international or regional moves that were delayed till after the Arab summit in order to use the Saudi plan as the starting point.

The initial official information coming from the French capital confirmed that what the Saudi plan encountered at the Fez summit and the negative reactions that it evoked there will not alter the determination to continue the Franco-Algerian activity to create the atmosphere for a new settlement in the region and make the Franco-European initiative a reality.

5214

CSO: 4404/185

BEIRUT'S MAYOR STUDIES SOLUTIONS FOR CITY'S PROBLEMS

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 239, 30 Nov-5 Dec 81 pp 15-16

[Interview with Shafiq al-Sarduk by AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI; date and place not specified]

[Text] The late Amin Bayham, a native son of Beirut and mayor of the municipality, left a difficult legacy to his successor, lawyer Shafiq al-Sarduk. Several items are on the municipality's agenda: debts in excess of 200 million liras, an administration that barely functions, irresponsible employees, roads needing millions of liras for asphaltting, constant traffic tie-ups, and no lighting on the streets.

Problems, problems...problems...What has the new mayor done to confront this reality and blunt the sharpness of the contradictions? These were the questions we put to him and this is the program.

[Question] What are your thoughts on the municipality of Beirut?

[Answer] Every problem has two solutions, one urgent and the other deferred. I came into the municipality of Beirut overwhelmed by the complaints of the people, which I hear because I constantly mingle with them due to my work as a lawyer and because I am active in other social fields. The people's complaints all have to do with traffic, cleanliness, lighting, and roads, for these things affect their daily lives. I shall therefore initially concern myself in particular with urgent measures and then study permanent measures based on ample studies in some cases and save the rest (for a later date).

Regarding traffic, for example, the chief engineer Mitri al-Nammur and I studied some of the measures carried out on the land during the week after I officially assumed my duties. These measures included prohibiting cars of all kinds from parking at least 100 meters from intersections and enforcing the ban strictly so that they are completely free and cars can cross them easily.

Among the urgent measures are a ban against double parking of cars on major streets.

And I shall think about imposing severe legal penalties on violators, for the city must overcome its problems realistically. A 10 pound fine is not a deterrent.

But a deterrent is necessary and punishment such as confiscation of someone's car will bring results. By cooperating with the authorities and all the political activists we will achieve good and positive results.

What I have already said about urgent measures concerning traffic also applies to cleanliness, electrification and roads.

More Important Than Bridges

[Question] What are the capital's shortcomings that you think need to be corrected?

[Answer] Much is lacking, especially patriotism and civil education, for morality, in my opinion, is more important than iron bridges and a greater benefit to the capital than an increase of thousands of garbage collectors.

I come back to answer your question in the sense that you intended. I say that the shortcomings are many, the most important now being, in my view, the old sewers which became very inadequate after Beirut grew to ten times the size it was in the days when the sewers were installed.

As for parking lots, I shall study the possibility of building them quickly if only by borrowing some private properties in agreement with their owners on condition that we appropriate other suitable land later.

Public parks are an escape that people need, especially for their children. Since the Turkish era we created only a single park in Hawd al-Wilaya and another in al-Ashrafiyah, neither of which is adequate at all. This need is quite apparent on holidays when the people come to the nearby gardens and beaches to breathe clean air.

I think the municipality should adopt a policy of guaranteeing the citizens of Beirut services at a reasonable level, e.g., water, electricity, telephone, suitable facilities for vegetable and other specialized markets.

[Question] Every year Beirut drowns in pools of water. What is the solution?

[Answer] I already said that the sewer system is old and broken down. And what makes matters worse is the lack of cleanliness and maintenance because I never saw anyone pay attention to the sewers except when they get clogged and workers proceed to unclog them without cleaning them so that they become clogged again.

I do not claim to be a specialist in the subject, but I find it strange when I pass through al-Ramlah al-Buyda', for I see on rainy days the water rising 40 cm and the sea is only 40 m away, so how do we explain that?

I do not deny that the conditions that the capital endured increased its misfortunes, but there is no longer any justification for that.

Incidentally, I should like to mention that I read in the newspapers 3 years ago about a loan from the International Bank to build a new sewer system for the city

of Beirut. However, the project did not see the light of day. But we will try to bring it up again and carry it out.

Traffic

[Question] The traffic crisis, how are you going to manage it and what about the lighting?

[Answer] I go along with His Excellency Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan in this matter. He says bridges greatly ease the traffic crisis and reduce the number of accidents. I also learned that he follows the situation and is concerned with it. I was assured of the necessary funds to build some bridges and tunnels to help solve the problem.

Improvement of traffic also depends on improving the conditions of the roads by, for example, eliminating violations, seizing cars in prohibited places, filling potholes, and asphaltting bridges.

Yesterday I started to study with some experienced persons traffic patterns in a further effort to ease the crisis.

As for lighting the streets, I discovered that there exists an agreement between the municipality of Beirut and the Lebanese power administration to make all the repairs of the lighting system. The agreement is effective. I shall get in touch with officials in the Lebanese Electricity Administration to work out a temporary program to finish all the repairs as quickly as possible, hopefully in no more than 20 days.

The important thing in all this is that cooperation and collaboration with the governor and provincial government will result in work of benefit to the capital.

Return of the Old Administration

[Question] Are there reforms at the administrative level that you intend to carry out?

[Answer] I shall do everything I can to reconstruct the administration as it was before the (recent) events (took place) because that would be a praiseworthy step toward improving all the city's utilities. I say that because the administration today is scattered about and the employees are not working for obvious reasons. If Governor Mitri al-Nammur and I are able to restore the administration to what it was before as a first step, we will make great progress toward a rapid improvement of the administration. As for administrative reform of the municipal government, that is a broad subject requiring extensive study and impossible to carry out in the immediate future. I shall therefore postpone it until urgent matters are taken care of.

[Question] The municipality of Beirut owes 200 million liras, yet you recently undertook to buy a piece of land for 16 million liras. How do you explain that?

[Answer] I answered this question before when I spoke about the traffic situation and the parks. These are essential matters affecting the lives of the people.

Their nerves are almost shattered every day. All my information on this question is that the area of al-Busta is frightfully overcrowded. Its roads are blocked by cars parked in the middle of the street. On the land which you referred in your question a huge building surrounded by three other large buildings were to be built with a total of about 70 apartments in each.

Therefore, before starting the underground work, the municipal council considered the idea and made a decision that will safeguard the public interest and make the land a parking lot or a park. However, I haven't been informed of the decision as yet.

5214

CSO: 4404/185

EXXON PULLOUT SEEN SYMPTOMATIC OF GENERAL DECLINE

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 9 Jan 82 pp 13-14

[Text] Exxon's abrupt announcement in November that it was to cease oil operations in Libya hardly came as a surprise. After all, the Reagan administration has made no secret of its intense dislike of Colonel Qadhafi, branding him a supporter of international terrorism, and it has backed its word by actions.

Washington has put pressure on U.S. companies operating in Libya to leave and has warned the 2,000 Americans there that their safety cannot be guaranteed. The Sixth Fleet has carried out exercises dangerously close to Libya and, last August, this policy resulted in two jets being shot down.

Pressure on American companies is just as serious a threat to Libya as military operations. Eighty percent of Libyan development depends on U.S. technological inputs and is partly paid for by the revenues from oil sales to the U.S. which normally takes up to 60 percent of Libyan crude exports--equal to 10 percent of American needs. Libyan oil production has dropped in recent months from the official target of 1.75 million bpd to perhaps as little as 0.5m bpd.

Revenues may have fallen from \$22.5 bn in 1980 to perhaps as little as \$7bn last year. Against this background, the Exxon decision was not unexpected. What was surprising was that other companies had not already done the same, particularly some of the oil independents. The U.S. government had, after all earlier threatened an oil boycott on Libya, a move which would have had a serious consequence for Occidental, Conoco and the Oasis consortium.

Together with the European independents, these companies control 35 percent of Libya's total oil revenues. Yet the fact that Exxon acted alone suggests that its decision may have been motivated by considerations which were not necessarily political.

Indeed, sources close to the company indicated that Exxon had decided that oil exploitation in Libya was no longer economically viable. This, they suggest, was the real reason for the pull-out. Exxon has operated in Libya since the early 1950s and has received no new concession since 1955. The company's major fields are the Nasr field at Bin Zelten in Sirte operated by Esso Libya (in which Exxon has a 49 per cent stake) and the much less important site, the Ragouba field, operated by Esso Sirte, (of which Exxon owns 24.5 percent).

Both fields are now about 20 years old, and thus near the end of their useful lives. Water reinjection is now usual to improve yields in Libyan Oilfields and a new gas reinjection programme costing \$2bn has just been approved by the Libyan government.

In many fields, however, secondary and tertiary recovery procedures have had little effect because of geological peculiarities and overrapid withdrawal. Twenty percent recovery rates are not uncommon.

Occidental has achieved an 86 percent recovery in the Intisar field and it clearly has no intention of pulling out. Exxon, in contrast, has been one of the unlucky ones and, despite water reinjection, was pulling up a crude/water mixture containing only 20 percent crude. The Exxon experience, although not typical of the 30 major fields that make up the bulk of Libya's reserves, highlights a growing tendency in Libyan oil. Although reserves are officially put at 26 bn barrels, with a production-to-reserve ratio of 35:1, some observers have suggested that a more appropriate figure would be 23bn barrels.

Sources in Libya now say that even this figure may be too optimistic and that the true figure is nearer 17bn barrels, despite the proposed reinjection project. The implication of this for the lifetime of Libyan oil is dramatic.

Officially, current production levels are intended to fall from 1.75m bpd to 1.5m bpd under the latest plan, as the contribution of crude exports to gross domestic product falls from the current level of 65 percent to 47 percent by 1985. However, the latest reserve figures suggest that, by 1990, liftings will have fallen to less than 1m bpd. By the year 2000, they could have fallen further, to 0.35-0.4m bpd. By 1994 it is likely that Libya will actually have to import crude.

Domestic demand could reach 1m bpd by the end of this decade. By 1985 Libya expects to have an installed refinery capacity of 0.5m bpd and would be able to export refined petroleum products, even if it has to import crude. Yet Libya will inevitably become a net oil importer soon after, if production rates fall.

Against this gloomy background, it seems the reasons for Exxon's decision have been widely misinterpreted. The decision was dictated by economic considerations, although the timing was dictated, no doubt, by the likely political advantages.

CSO: 4500/101

OIL POLICIES ANALYZED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 1, 6 Jan 82 pp 6, 7

[Text]

Libya has lowered the stakes in its war of words with the **United States**. But we understand that Col. **Gadaffi** is now preparing another offensive against Libyan dissidents. **Switzerland** will apparently be the operational base, with coordinators in Berne and Zurich. Meanwhile, Libyan students who were previously sent to the US for education are now going to **Canada**, where some of them are expected to lie low in anticipation of further terrorist activity in North America. (The alleged Libyan squad which was out to kill President **Reagan** among others, may have entered the US via **Canada**. Not that such maleficent ends could be construed from the generally good-natured (but high-staked) game of diplomatic bluff and counter-bluff which has been going on between Libya and Western Europe over the past three months. At issue now, not least in Washington, is the prospect of encouraging the reduction in Libyan oil revenue in order to squeeze **Gadaffi's** adventurism.

Some estimates put the country's reserves at only seven to ten years. (Thus Libya's squabble with **Tunisia** about off-shore fields in the Gulf of Gabès). Although some oil companies are still getting reasonable returns from Libyan fields, others are not. That would explain why **Exxon** was not unhappy to quit its Libyan fields at the end of last year. And the **Reagan** administration, since the US has progressively reduced its imports of Libyan oil from around 550,000 barrels a day (b/d) in 1980 to 150,000 b/d by last summer (just over 1% of US daily consumption), clearly feels that its stakes in Libya are small enough to disregard.

The main reason for the reduction in Libyan oil imports (and for the drop in Libyan oil production

from 1.7m barrels a day at the beginning of the year to around 500,000 b/d in October), was of course Tripoli's insistence on keeping its crude price higher (at \$40 a barrel) than all its competitors earlier in the year. Even though in the context of dwindling oil reserves, a high price is a feasible conservationist strategy, the international oil companies were not prepared to go along with what they construed as **Gadaffi-brinkmanship**. Some show of collective **Seven Sister** disapproval was called for. **Exxon's** decision was the most dramatic result, and had the effect of spurring Libya to offer tax relief to equity holders in its oil fields. As a result Libyan crude dropped to around \$36 a barrel, making it competitive with its main rival, **Nigeria**. At that price, international oil companies were prepared to resume higher production. Total Libyan production is now reported to have climbed back to over 1m b/d.

But the twin pressures of diminished output and lower prices have had a more damaging effect on Libyan economic development prospects than is commonly appreciated, especially when considering the cost of **Gadaffi's** extra-territorial forays and commitments. In 1980 Libya earned over \$20bn from oil, and embarked on an ambitious \$55bn 1981-85 development plan. In 1981 its oil revenue was probably halved. Signs of a cash-flow crisis in the Libyan treasury are beginning to be seen. The withdrawal of Libyan troops from **Chad**, (it was costing Tripoli over \$1m a day to keep 4000 troops there), was not wholly a political decision. Now the relevant ministries (or secretariats as they are known in Libya) are gearing themselves for extensive pruning of the development plan. (One project that will probably be cut is the expensive proposal to build a

500 km railway line from iron ore deposits in the south to the Misratah iron and steel complex on the coast). Foreign companies selling to Libya have recently begun to experience a disquieting delay in payments from Tripoli. At the end of November the Ministry of Economy issued an ordinance banning the import of 82 categories of goods, including sports cars, ceramic goods and silver cutlery. Further lists are expected to be added before long.

Libyan planners are obviously preparing for further falls in revenue by securing a \$200m credit on the Euromarkets. The seven year loan, lead-managed by the *Arab Banking Corporation*, is reported to be for a new venture, the *Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Company*, which is set to purchase equity in foreign companies on Libya's behalf. On the other hand, the loan could be construed as an establishment of Libyan credit-rating while the going is good.

Libya has sought further respectability in the international commercial markets by preparing to move the important *Libyan Foreign Trade Purchasing Mission*, which oversees all details of Libyan contracts abroad, from Milan to London. Relations between **Italy** and Libya have soured over the past year, while links between **Britain** and Libya, at an all-time low following the killing of two Libyan dissidents in London and the expulsion of the Libyan ambassador in 1980, are improving — to the extent that Libyan envoys are reported to have dared ask British officials for a shipment of British tanks.

While the Libyan image in Europe is returning to normal, the atmosphere in Tripoli is distinctly edgy. We understand that on a number of occasions recently, Gadaffi has frantically tightened his grip on the political apparatus. Contrary to official presentation of the facts, he has now resorted to setting off different sectors of Libyan society against one another. The crucial axis of power today is between the

Gadadfa and the Wafala tribes, which together rule the important central region of Libya stretching inland from Misratah, separating, and thus controlling, the former colonial provinces of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. Gadaffi relies on members of his own clan, such as cousins **Sayed** and **Ahmed Gadafadam** for secret missions abroad. Domestically, his authority is enforced by **Khalifa Khanish** and by Col. **Hassan Shkal**, who has close ties with Gadaffi's shock troops, the Green Brigades, with whom **Frank Terpil** and **Edwin Wilson** were closely involved, and who is known to have dealt severely with shows of independence from Libyan students. Behind these two lie an **East German**-dominated intelligence service, using mainly **West German** communications equipment. (Somehow the West Germans have established a sophisticated intelligence gathering operation in Libya, keeping Bonn well informed about Gadaffi's links with European terrorist organisations).

Far from the rhetoric of his democracy, Gadaffi rules his country through communication with tribal leaders. Since 1975 he has attempted to turn the country people of Cyrenaica against the inhabitants of Benghazi, which he still views as a centre of potential opposition. At one stage, he is reported to have urged tribal leaders to march on Benghazi and create an element of civil unrest which would allow him to root out opponents there. But they refused, reminding him that many of their children were working there or at Benghazi university. One particular tribe out of favour with the authorities at the moment is the Megerha, which last spring was discovered to be hoarding an illegal cache of arms in the desert. Tension in Tripoli was not eased at this discovery, since Maj. **Abdulsalam Jalloud**, Gadaffi's official deputy, comes from the Megerha. But the major was not thought to be implicated and still goes about his duties in his desultory manner ●

TRENDS, PROBLEMS OF LOCAL PRESS ANALYZED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 680, 18-24 Dec 81 pp 3-8

[Article: "The Local Press--Its Reality and Its Future"]

[Text] AL-YAMAMAH's Distribution Is Three Times That of Some Magazines Published Abroad, But Nevertheless the Price for an Ad in These Magazines Is Ten Times the Price of an Ad in AL-YAMAMAH!!

Academic People Are Saying That Students in the Information and Communications Media Departments Are Taking Up the Study of Public Relations on the Pretext That There Is a Lack of [Financial] Resources in the Field of Journalism.

Prince Nayif Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz: "We Should Reconsider the 'Subsidies' So That a Subsidy Will Depend on the Level of the Newspaper or Magazine." Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani: "Why Should, For Example, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT and AL-MAJALLAH Enjoy All the Privileges of Saudi Newspapers Without Having Any of Their Responsibilities?"

Shaykh Salih al-'Ajrush: "No Censorship Restrictions Are Needed on Newspapers from Outside and Emigrant Arab Newspapers, But We Do Need to 'Protect' Our Local Press."

Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Qar'awi: "We Have Clearly Seen the Falseness of the Distribution Figures Which Came from a Report Published by an Agency Calling Itself the 'Saudi Information Agency'!!"

Muhammad Sa'id al-Tayyib: "Some of Our Large National Establishments Have Their Ads Published, on the Basis of Long-Term Contracts, in 'Emigrant' Newspapers, Whereas Local Newspapers Are 'Deprived' of Them. Why?"

Those who know the real facts concerning the Saudi press know that this press is going through a real crisis. In fact, let us hasten to say at this point that this crisis is not a crisis of backwardness or inadequacy. It is a crisis of development and high aspirations. This press wants to fully play its role and to move

toward unlimited future horizons. However, both material and non-material circumstances are keeping it from moving in this direction and are forcing it to "set its sights lower" when it wants to always "soar to greater heights." Since the press is a national intellectual institution and represents one of the most important cultural institutions in our society, the issue concerning the press becomes one of considerable importance. This is why we are bringing up this issue today on the pages which follow.

The first question which suggests itself before any other question is: What is the issue concerning the Saudi press, in connection with which some people accuse us of exaggeration when we say that it is going through a real crisis?

In brief, the issue concerning the Saudi press is a civilizational issue. The word which we use here may appear to be a general one, but a presentation of its dimensions in detail might clarify for us exactly what the nature of the problem is.

For the last third of a century Saudi Arabia has been undergoing a comprehensive renaissance and development which has the objective of rebuilding this country and taking it out of the Bedouin life and simplicity of earlier ages into the civilization and urbanization of the 20th century.

This comprehensive building process means not merely building factories, paving roads and implementing ambitious development plans. Along with all of this it also means building people. That is to say, it means remolding the Saudi people in a way which will enable them to absorb this civilizational change and move forward with it.

The building of human beings takes place by means of knowledge. This means that the cultural institutions in our society have been shouldered with a historic task which they must perform in the best possible manner, or else there will be a disturbance in the equilibrium of the system which controls the development of this building process--the process of building both our country and our people.

For this reason, the responsibility shouldered by our universities, on the one hand, and by our informational and communications media, on the other hand, has become much more important.

We are not discussing here the responsibility of the informational and communications media in general. We are discussing the responsibility of the press, in particular, since it is one of the most important tools of the communications media.

We are always hearing the opinion that Saudi Arabia's political, economic, and religious importance is immeasurably greater than its intellectual importance and the importance of its press.

This is an accusation of inadequacy which is directed in particular at our local press. What is the truth of the matter?

We believe that the Saudi press and the people who work in it have always adequately performed their duty. However, they have been, and still are, confronted with

a set of circumstances and factors which have limited their freedom of movement and have prevented them from playing their role in the best possible manner. The truth of the matter concerning the "crisis" in particular is that our press is confronted with a set of circumstances which are almost putting it in shackles of iron when it should be free to fly with wings of silk.

These circumstances are of both a material and non-material nature. That is to say, there are press-related problems and there are also economic problems.

The press-related or professional problems could be summed up in two factors:

1. The Saudi press is engaged in an exhausting race with the Arab press coming in from outside the country and with some newspapers and magazines coming from Europe which claim that they are Saudi publications, although they do not possess many of the elements to be so labelled. Let us have the courage at this point to call a spade a spade. Take, for example, the newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT and the magazine AL-MAJALLAH. They enjoy all of the privileges of being publications from Saudi Arabia without having any of the responsibilities and commitments which are borne by the Saudi press. This is a type of competition which is unjust and also unequal. The [non-Saudi] Arab newspapers and magazines enjoy benefits obtained due to the nature of their journalistic work which are not available to Saudi newspapers inside Saudi Arabia--or at least they are not available to them to the same degree.

2. The Saudi market is wide open to all Arab publications which come in from all areas of the world. These publications find wide readership here in Saudi Arabia. In view of the "commitment" by the local newspapers to their country's national policy, a mission which they consider dear to them, they have found themselves restricted by a set of social and moral criteria which sincere and good citizenship has imposed upon them. For this reason Saudi readers have found the newspapers coming in from outside to have everything which is lacking in the local newspapers.

These outside newspapers and magazines, whether they claim to be emigrant Saudi publications or whether they are other Arab publications, have recognized the circumstances of this national commitment [on the part of the Saudi publications] and have managed to entice our readers by providing them with the sensationalism missing in Saudi newspapers. They have exploited this situation in order to achieve a certain degree of commercial success, and this has been both at the expense of the local newspapers and at the expense of our local readers.

Where is the equal opportunity in this type of competition? On the one hand we have newspapers and magazines which enjoy all of the privileges without undertaking any type of "commitment," and on the other hand we have newspapers and magazines which are sincerely carrying out their mission inside their country and are proud of, and honored by, their "commitment" to all of Saudi Arabia's morals, principles, and laws. Then both types of publications are put on the market, exposed to the same degree of freedom in terms of supply and demand, and without any types of restrictions being placed on incoming newspapers or any type of protection being given to our local newspapers. We do not wish to have people think that this means that we are demanding that censorship restrictions be put on incoming newspapers. This is not our real concern. But what we are demanding is

that thought be given to providing some sort of protection for our newspapers since they are newspapers with a commitment. Given the reality of present circumstances it is only natural that the newspapers coming in from abroad are gaining the upper hand because they are grabbing all of the "profits" whereas our local newspapers are losing ground because they are paying all of the "losses."

We brought up the issue of the press which claims to be an emigrant Saudi press and the circumstances of its emigration when talking with Mr 'Abdallah Hamad al-Qar'awi, the director general of the Al-Yamamah Press Establishment, and Mr Salih al-'Ajrush, the director general of the Al-Jazirah Corporation for Press Printing and Publishing. Mr al-Qar'awi said: "There are no emigrant Saudi newspapers. What we have are Saudi newspapers which are being published abroad. 'Emigration' means moving from the country of one's birth and upbringing to another country." Mr al-'Ajrush said: "We in Saudi Arabia have never been subjected to circumstances which would compel our newspapers to emigrate. Those people who have chosen to put out their publications abroad have done so for the sake of competition, in imitation of others, in order to avoid some of the restrictions put on our local press, or because they do not wish to be committed to the national policy followed by our press. This is something which everybody is aware of."

What the director general of the Al-Jazirah Corporation is saying really does make us pause to think about the "emigration" of this press. It could be that we are willing to accept the emigration of any press to a foreign country--with the exception of the Saudi press. What is the justification for this emigration? Are we in a war situation or a situation where one must take refuge with God, such as is the case with the wounded nation of Lebanon? Or is it what Mr al-'Ajrush is saying, which is that these newspapers have merely taken it upon themselves to express their displeasure concerning the local newspapers' national commitment, and have therefore taken the incomprehensible step of engaging in publication abroad?! We do not want to delve deeply into the question of assessing the circumstances concerning the publication of these newspapers abroad. But Mr al-'Ajrush and Mr al-Qar'awi are in agreement about the fact that these newspapers and magazines have no right to be called Saudi newspapers and magazines because they are not subject to Saudi laws and their articles are not written by Saudis--although we have great respect for the Arab writers who do write the articles. What we are proud of is what we have inside our country. We ourselves publish and write our own press. This is why it is difficult for us to say that those [emigrant] newspapers are Saudi newspapers. Furthermore, they are only very secondarily concerned with matters dealing with our country. What they print concerning Saudi Arabia is merely printed in order to enable them to reach the Saudi market and obtain some of the advantages [which Saudi newspapers have].

We laugh a great deal when we hear the allegations made by these newspapers and their justification for publishing outside the country. They say that their reasons for emigrating were purely technical, due to the availability of advanced technical capabilities abroad which make it easier to engage in journalistic work on a broader scale. We who work in the field of journalism know that the capabilities available to the press in this country--both in terms of human capabilities and in terms of technology--are considerable.

The human capabilities which we have, and which include writers, people who perform advertising services, administrators, and distributors, are sufficient to

publish double the number of newspapers and magazines which we presently have. This is not a random opinion, but rather the practical result of a scientific study made which has proven this fact.

Likewise, we have all of the technological capabilities for journalism including advanced printing presses with all of their accessories, photographic equipment, and rapid computer typesetting. We are also equipped to maintain communications by means of earth satellites and microwave, and what we have in the realm of wire and wireless communications is more than some of the advanced countries have. Some of the advanced countries do not have the modern equipment which we have here in Saudi Arabia.

Consequently the journalistic emigration is an emigration which amounts to a flight from laws and regulations. The motive is actually nothing more than a purely commercial one, the desire being to operate in an atmosphere which is far removed from the atmosphere of commitment [in Saudi Arabia] which puts some barriers on the path toward exploitation of the local market, particularly in the areas of distribution and advertisement. This is what is so appealing about putting on the new clothes which are free of the censorship restrictions affecting the designing and subject matter of advertisements.

This is the first aspect of the problem which is being experienced by the local press. It is an aspect of the problem which is non-material, that is, the purely professional or journalistic aspect.

There is also the second part of the problem. This is the practical aspect of the problem, that is, the economic and financial side of the question.

Journalism today is not merely words and pictures. It is also economics. A science called "the economics of journalism," has become an established subject which is studied in universities and specialized information and communications media institutes. What we are saying is that journalism is not only an opinion expressed or a mission, but is also--and to the same degree--money. Without strong economic support this opinion and mission might falter along their path or not even get anywhere at all.

This is why the process of "financing" today is considered to be the key element of a newspaper or magazine.

The crises experienced by the old and established British press and by some of the U.S. newspapers, and their cessation of publication, were not a result of crises in terms of journalistic skill or writing capability, nor were they due to restrictions on freedom of expression. The crises experienced by these publications, which led to the ownership of some of them being transferred and to the cessation of publication of others, were economic crises. A newspaper or magazine's sources of financing are distribution, subscriptions, and advertisements. When these sources are not systematically available, a newspaper goes out of business and there is no reason for it to exist.

What has occurred has been the upsetting of the balance in competition on the level of "journalistic treatment [of various topics and issues]" which existed

between the newspapers and magazines published inside Saudi Arabia and the Arab newspapers and magazines, and those newspapers and magazines which claim that they are Saudi newspapers and magazines, which are published abroad. The scales have come to be strongly weighted in favor of the latter newspapers and magazines. The same balance [between local and non-local publications] was upset on the economic level as well--in favor of the press from outside.

The upshot of the matter is that these newspapers and magazines once again enjoy all of the economic privileges of Saudi Arabia's financial importance, and this is something which brings them enormous profits.

Naturally this is something which is not unexpected. Due to their format and the way in which they are published, and since they have no commitment of the type which we have, these newspapers inevitably possess an element of attraction which also brings them economic success--whether all of this is done through legitimate or non-legitimate means or under laws and regulations which are faulty or sound.

The basic issue which we are concerned with here is the fact that Saudi Arabia is losing much of its advertising to these outside newspapers and magazines.

Before dealing with this subject in detail, we would like to quote a few examples which embody the "fouled-up situation" concerning subscriptions to our local newspapers and to outside newspapers. For example, in some government offices here subscriptions are equally divided between Saudi newspapers and newspapers from outside. We challenge anyone concerned with this issue to provide us with any other example of this practice anywhere in the world. For example, is it conceivable to anyone that the Ministry of Education or Foreign Affairs in Egypt would have as many subscriptions to AL-ANWAR or AL-NAHAR as it does to AL-AHRAM? This, of course, is out of the question.

Here is another example. The [Saudi] Office of Education in the U.S. includes AL-SAWAQ, AL-ANSAR and AL-MAJALLAH among the newspaper and magazine subscriptions which the Ministry of Information provides to Saudi students studying abroad. These two publications, of course, have no right to be among these subscriptions unless equal consideration is given to magazines such as AL-MUSTAQBAL and AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI. This is if we bear in mind that the objective of these subscriptions is basically to have our Saudi students abroad continue to have their hearts in their own country and be informed about the issues and news concerning their country as well as the achievements of its growth and development. All of this can only be provided by a newspaper or magazine which comes from Saudi Arabia.

Here is another example. Some of our large national establishments favor these outside newspapers and magazines with their ads whereas the national newspapers and magazines are, to a large extent, "deprived" of these ads. It is strange, for example, that we find a "regular" ad from Saudia Airlines in AL-MAJALLAH whereas the magazine AL-YAMAMAH, the largest magazine in Saudi Arabia, cannot obtain a similar advertisement contract.

The above-mentioned situation is one which is opening up the wound from which the blood of the body of the Saudi press is draining out. It is the wound inflicted by advertising, and it is the connection of advertising with both the local and outside newspapers.

These outside newspapers, both those which claim that they are emigrant Saudi newspapers and the other Arab newspapers, have exploited the circumstances revolving around our commitment to the values which we are proud that we adhere to. They have managed to entice our readers by providing them with sensationalism, they are deceiving advertisers and sometimes helping them to circumvent censorship by publishing ads which are forbidden in Saudi Arabia, such as cigarette ads, or by publishing pictures in advertisements which our morals do not permit us to publish and which sensually entice our readers and arouse them to read the ads. This is an approach which is being combatted by even the countries which are most advanced in the fields of advertising. These newspapers and magazines have also been deceiving the advertisers by publishing exaggerated distribution figures. Through advertising middlemen, some local advertising agencies, and foreign advertising agencies, they are hungrily seeking out means, which are in violation of our Saudi commitments and morals, by which they can propagate their cheap ads and ads which have few opportunities [to appear in the Saudi press] such as ads concerning cigarettes and other prohibited things.

This open-door policy with respect to advertisement has given these newspapers and magazines, which claim to be emigrant Saudi publications, a great opportunity to obtain financing, and this has enabled them to beef up their communications and printing equipment and to improve their distribution services and writing and editorial capabilities.

All of this is taking place by means of our prosperous advertising market which is being monopolized by those who serve foreign advertising. This has led to the obstruction of steps taken by the Saudi press along the path of progress and has kept it from keeping pace with the country's steady growth, in spite of all of the attempts made [by the press] to develop itself during recent years.

However, the question which arises at this point is: What is the position taken by the advertisers? Why is it that these advertisers approach and give preference to the press from outside as opposed to the local press?

We would like to say at the outset that our merchants have a duty to primarily do business with the local press. This should be the case not only on the basis of patriotism, but also on the basis of economics. The local magazines and newspapers, in all cases, have a much larger distribution inside Saudi Arabia than is the case with newspapers from outside the country. Furthermore, our local newspapers are directly oriented toward the mass of basic consumers inside Saudi Arabia whereas the newspapers outside Saudi Arabia are oriented toward other readers who are neither consumers of, nor conduct business concerning, local goods and commodities in Saudi Arabia.

But we can rightly say that the advertisers in Saudi Arabia, who advertise in these newspapers and magazines, are above all people who have been duped. This is a fact which we can deduce from the exaggerated and false reports concerning the Saudi newspapers and the emigrant newspapers.

Mr al-Qar'awi says: "We have clearly seen the falseness of the distribution figures which came from a report published by an agency which calls itself the 'Saudi Information Agency.' This agency has published imaginary and erroneous statistics dealing with the distribution of Saudi Arabia's newspapers, and this is

an action which has both deceived and fleeced the advertisers." Mr al-Qar'awi goes on to say: "The magazine AL-YAMAMAH's distribution in Saudi Arabia is three times that of some of the magazines which claim that they are Saudi magazines and are published abroad. But nevertheless the price for an ad in these magazines is ten times the price of an ad in AL-YAMAMAH."

The Tihamah Corporation also has something to say about the reality of its practical experience with advertisers. Its director general, Mr Muhammad Sa'id al-Tayyib, has the following remarks to say concerning the significant loss of [Saudi] sources of advertising [to non-Saudi publications]:

"1. A large percentage of the advertising budget of local 'government' or 'semi-government' corporations goes to foreign advertising. Some of this foreign advertising is Arab, and some of it is non-Arab. This is something which deprives our local newspapers of an important [financial] source, and this constitutes an obstruction to their potential for development."

"2. Saudi newspapers and magazines are deprived of their fair share of the international advertising budgets. This is something which is not in keeping with the strength of the Saudi market and sales involving the Saudi market and the manufacturing companies 'abroad' which earmark billions of dollars for advertisement in the Middle East. To our great regret this advertisement money goes to other non-Saudi magazines and newspapers."

The Tihamah Corporation's director general continues his interpretation of the reasons for the former phenomenon, which is that of local advertising money--some of which is government money--going to foreign advertising. He says: "This is attributable to the fact that foreign advertising agencies have penetrated [the Saudi market] by means of unaccredited agencies or merchants who have nothing to do with the field of advertising but who operate in the fields of commerce and contracting."

What this means is that our national wealth is leaking out by means of unaccredited agencies or merchants' agents, and up till now we do not know whether these people are Saudis or non-Saudis. If advertising is a commercial operation, who then is responsible for keeping track of these agents whom the Tihamah Corporation is referring to?

As for the enormous budgets which the large corporations have for international advertising, the Tihamah Corporation says that the international advertising corporations and industrial corporations have not yet really become convinced of the development and progress which have been achieved by the Saudi press during the last 5 years--either in terms of its writing and editorial capabilities, printing capabilities, or distribution. The Tihamah Corporation feels that the Saudi newspapers themselves bear a certain amount of responsibility for this since they so far have not participated in any serious studies dealing with the verification of the newspapers' distribution in order to present accurate statistics concerning this distribution. The Tihamah Corporation says that since this has not been done, it provides an opportunity for the foreign newspapers and magazines and keeps the Saudi newspapers from having their fair share [of the market].

If this is our situation with regard to merchants, advertising corporations abroad, and non-accredited advertising agents, then we really are in a deplorable situation and it requires that many steps be taken both by our leaders and our press establishments [in order to rectify the situation]. Here are the reasons why this must be done:

1. So that we are not the sacrificial lamb and so that we can have our just and fair share [of advertising] along with both the foreign and emigrant newspapers. It should be this way because we are inside the country where this commercial activity is taking place and we are serving the citizens of the Arab world just as much as they are. Thus we have the right to be partners in the region where this service is being performed.

2. So that our prosperous domestic market will not be a rare opportunity for the economic suction pumps of foreign establishments which enter [the Saudi market] ostensibly as a press establishment, as advertising, or as commercial agencies, whereas in fact these establishments are draining off our advertisement sources. The advertisement sources are in fact a key element in the communications media field which we are depending on in order to make the voice of Saudi Arabia heard around the world--and on a level which is in keeping with modern civilization.

There remains one important question: What type of protection do we need for our press?

We should say at the outset that we are not demanding any kind of protection in press-related matters as some people might think. Mr al-'Ajrush made this clear when he said to AL-YAMAMAH: "I do not believe that we need protection from the emigrant press. Our press--by the grace of God--has taken its place in the world and has asserted its existence. Those people who read the newspapers which show pictures forbidden in Saudi Arabia or which print advertisements about things which are forbidden in our country are not looking for publications which are meant to be read. They are merely interested in looking at pictures. And, my friend, there is a difference between the press which is meant to be read and a press which is meant to be perused."

Mr al-'Ajrush asserted that we should never allow ourselves to be accused of having this type of press, but he also objected to the idea of prohibiting such a press from entering the country. We in AL-YAMAMAH agree with Mr al-'Ajrush concerning his opinion that no censorship of any kind should be placed on our readers. We say this because we believe that Saudi readers have a sufficient level of awareness to enable them to decide what to read. We also share his opinion that no newspapers and magazines should be prevented from entering our country.

Then what kind of protection do we need?

Mr al-Qar'awi says that right now he has not formulated in his mind any particular type of protection which we need from the newspapers which claim that they are Saudi newspapers but are published abroad.

He adds: "But I believe that equal opportunity is a good basis on which to discuss this subject, especially from the commercial point of view, that is, from the point of view of advertisements and subscriptions."

As for the quality of the press itself, we firmly believe that our Saudi press can proudly stand next to a great many of the other publications which you find in our bookstores and newsstands. We are a good market for the various trends and schools of thought of the Arab press.

If we really demand commercial protection for our press, then the target of this demand should be the merchants, private corporations, and government corporations. They should not be deceived by the imaginary statistics provided by advertising corporations which provide exaggerated figures concerning the so-called distribution of newspapers and magazines of a humble level in terms of their subject matter and technical production. As Mr al-'Ajrush said in the context of his remarks concerning the level of the press, there is a difference between a press which is meant to be read and a press which is meant to be perused.

Another thing which must be done is to convince the merchants of the importance of local advertisements and increasing the level of money spent on advertising inside Saudi Arabia. Our merchants who are agents of foreign companies should also help to convince their companies, or at least use their positions to influence these companies, to set aside a percentage of their advertising money for advertisements in Saudi newspapers in repayment for what they are getting out of the profitable Saudi market. And the advertising should be on the level of our profitable domestic market which provides these companies with a large share of their revenues.

This type of protection is not protection of the press as such. It is a type of commercial protection which is required by the fact that it is important for us to have priority rights concerning our markets and on the level of our country's power and the firmness of the pillars which support it.

We also possess this right to have these sources of advertising because we are the voice which expresses our country and its blessings. No press of any type or of any nationality can undertake this role, which is our role and which we have acquired by virtue of our citizenship and our loyalty to our country.

The local advertisement agencies are somewhat responsible for Saudi Arabia losing its advertising to foreign sources, whether the advertising is government or commercial advertising. In an interview held by AL-YAMAMAH with Mr Tawfiq Muhammad 'Umar Tawfiq, the director general of the Muruwah Advertising Bureau in the central area of the country, and Mr Muhammad Sa'id al-Tayyid, the director general of the Tihamah Corporation, they said that they are in fact playing the role of providing consultation for advertisers.

Mr al-Tayyib said that the Tihamah Corporation is attempting to convince some of the companies of the profitability of local advertising. However, Mr Tawfiq said: "Some of the Saudi newspapers are still weak and their distribution is so poor that they put us, as advertising agencies, in an unenviable position when we deal with advertisers."

Mr al-Tayyib said that the Tihamah Advertising Agency considers AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT and AL-MAJALLAH to be Saudi corporations. He also called upon the Saudi newspapers to publish serious studies dealing with the extent of their distribution.

Mr Tawfiq agreed with what the director general of the Tihamah Corporation said about some companies having false ideas concerning local and foreign distribution figures. He said that they are based on newspaper sources themselves which provide exaggerated statistics. He said that some people are also convinced that the non-local magazines which are published abroad have a greater distribution than do their local counterparts. Mr Tawfiq made it clear that he really does find it difficult to convince some of his clients to advertise locally. The Muruwah Bureau declined to answer a question concerning its advertisement agreements with foreign newspapers, whereas the Tihamah Corporation answered that it has no such agreements with foreign newspapers. The Tihamah Corporation asserted that the so-called emigrant Saudi publications such as AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT and AL-MAJALLAH really are Saudi publications, even though, as he put it, we have differences of opinion with them. We do not share this opinion. Just because the owners of a publishing house are Saudis, this does not mean necessarily that their publications are Saudi publications. And this is the case with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT and AL-MAJALLAH.

The head of the Tihamah Corporation also stated that there are foreign newspapers which are trying to make direct contacts with the local market. He said that this means that local advertising is being drained off. He added that it is the agencies [of foreign advertising companies] which are assisting in this process of draining off local advertising, and said that they need to be dealt with by the appropriate authorities.

This has been a complete diagnosis of the dilemma being faced by the Saudi press on both the professional and material levels. But the most important question which remains is: What is the solution? There are two schools of thought which attempt to answer this question.

1. There is the school of thought presented by the professional men themselves who are journalists and the leading members of our press establishments.
2. There is the school of thought presented by academic people are professors of information and communications media.

First of all we should say that we know that our leaders also have their schools of thought. This is true, for example, of our distinguished minister of information, Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani, whose enthusiasm concerning the press and our journalists is a source of pride to all those who work in this important cultural and informational field. But what we wanted to do is to broach the problem in an integrated form. That is, we first wanted to present the background of the problem, then the problem itself, and finally the solutions which have been proposed for the problem.

Here is our presentation of the first school of thought:

1. We should revise the conditions which determine the provision of subsidies to the Saudi newspapers. Some of the newspapers have been transformed into investment

enterprises, the only objective of which is to obtain the subsidy. We hate to say this, and wish to apologize to some of our fellow press establishments [since we feel that this does not apply to them]. But here we have cases of a newspaper merely being a [commercial] enterprise which is no different from any other enterprise--even if the enterprise is a poultry farm enterprise.

2. An objective study should be made which reassesses the Saudi newspapers and magazines. This should be done so that the subsidy [which each newspaper or magazine receives] depends on the level of the newspaper or magazine. If the level is high, then the subsidy should be high, and the subsidy should be low if the level is low. It is, of course, not reasonable that a magazine such as AL-YAMAMAH should get the same subsidy that is received by a magazine such as AL-SHARQ--with all due respect to the latter. We must admit that there is no basis of comparison between the two magazines in terms of the product and expenses involved. It is also not reasonable that a newspaper such as AL-RIYAD or AL-JAZIRAH receive the same subsidy that is received by a newspaper such as AL-NADWAH or AL-BILAD--and we wish to assure that we are fond of all of these publications and that we greatly esteem their noble efforts.

3. A study should be made of the international regulations and practices followed by the large advertising companies in the Arab world, Europe, and the U.S. After doing this, we should pick the system of regulations and practices which most suits our needs in Saudi Arabia so that we can regulate the operations of the advertising companies in Saudi Arabia and eliminate the principle of monopolization of newspapers.

4. We should immediately begin to make a field study dealing with the establishment of a national advertising company which would undertake to distribute Saudi Arabia's publications both inside the country and abroad.

5. A distinction should be made between subsidies provided by the Ministry of Information and government advertisements. As we know, right now there are no newspapers or magazines which print government advertisements free of charge.

6. We must prevent [the entry of] some of the orphaned newspapers and magazines which are put out in Lebanon in order to be distributed only in Saudi Arabia. They are newspapers and magazines which have nothing at all to do with journalism and are put out by swindlers who want to obtain the advertising and privileges of regular newspapers and magazines.

7. We should hasten to promulgate the "system of laws and regulations for the Saudi press" after having talked about it and delayed its promulgation for so long.

8. We suggest that either all or some of the newspapers and magazine editors participate in the discussions held by the Higher Council for Information, at least as observers, in order that their points of view concerning some matters be heard. We know that His Highness Prince Nayif ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz welcomes this idea and will give it his backing. We have confidence in His Highness, and we know that he has done a great deal of good in terms of the establishment of an informational and media policy which suits those who are sincere citizens of this country.

This has been the first school of thought, presented by the journalists and those working in the profession of journalism, and it is a practical school of thought.

There is also the academic or scientific school of thought which is presented by academic people. It is a school of thought which supplements and complements our concept of the matter.

First of all, we should say that the professors of information and communications media doubt the capability of the Saudi newspapers to compete fairly with the outside newspapers. The professors feel that the Saudi press is being confronted by an important civilizational challenge. They state that it is necessary for the press establishments to improve their technical situations. They feel that this is why many of them are guilty of inadequate performance. What they have in mind is the building of new headquarters buildings for the newspapers which would be large and equipped with the necessary communications equipment, and they also have in mind the improvement of the printing press equipment and other services such as those involving equipment which can do teleprinting by means of earth satellites. This would enable the publications to arrive to their readers as fast as possible and would guarantee that their distribution would not be obstructed. It would mean that we could guarantee that the newspapers and magazines would continually be made available to their readers and these newspapers and magazines would consequently become the reading material which they would depend on and would be that which they would be looking for. The result would be that we could guarantee steady distribution of the publications which would not be subject to ups and downs because of technical factors.

The professors of information and communications media also affirm the importance of having the newspapers establish their own advertisement offices and that these officers be equipped, both in terms of technology and human resources, in a way which would keep pace with modern developments in the field of information and the communications media. This would provide a newspaper with the financial capability necessary for it to be able to pursue further development. It would also enable it to avoid falling under the domination of companies which have a monopoly on advertising, which suck up some of the [financial] sources of the newspaper, and which limit its advertising operations. They also stated the necessity of having administrative support for the newspapers and magazines, training of Saudi personnel to work in the field of journalism, and guarantees provided to those who work in the field of journalism which would enable them to be able to pursue their profession under favorable psychological circumstances and with a feeling of security concerning the future of their jobs. The professors of information and communications media, with whom we discussed the subject of the situation of the Saudi press vis-a-vis the competition of the foreign press, stressed the importance of providing support for the human element [of the Saudi press]. They expressed their regret about the fact that they had noted that students in the information and communications media departments [of their universities] in Saudi Arabia had started to abandon the departments of journalism. Most of these students are going into the departments of public relations on the pretext that there is a lack of financial resources in the field of journalism. The professors stressed the importance of providing guarantees as a sure solution to the problem of attracting educated and trained young people to the field of journalism. They said that this is something which would create a strong press which would be able to compete and to attract advertisers.

The professors assert that in order for the press to begin to move in this direction, it will require a large amount of capital investment. They said that large press operations are usually able to compete, and that there is no longer any room for small capital in the press of today. They said that such large investments would be able to stand up to the competition and oppose monopolies in the field of big journalism.

Concerning the present advertisement situation, the professors affirmed that the merchants themselves are the only ones who decide how to channel their advertising investments and that nobody can slap any restrictions on them. They are the ones who have the money and they will pay the money to whomever they want to. The urgent problem is that we have to convince the merchants, with definite proof, that we represent better advertising for them, or we have to convince their consulting corporations to convince them of this.

Here is a summary of the proposals presented:

1. Establishment of advertisement offices in order to stop [financialsources] from being drained off by advertising companies.
2. Improvement of technical services.
3. Concern for human services.
4. Investment of sufficient capital for [our press establishments] to stand on their own two feet in the field of journalism.

In conclusion, the professors stressed the importance of consistent planning for development and that there should not be any big leaps which, God forbid, might lead to sudden failures.

After making this presentation of the course of events concerning this issue, we feel that there seems to be no decisive solution other than to have our leaders cooperate closely with the press establishments in order to provide an appropriate professional atmosphere. This is the appropriate time to offer something to the press in Saudi Arabia rather than importing press publications from abroad.

So this is the "problem" which is being experienced by the Saudi press in its confrontation with the Arab press from outside and with the press which claims that it is an emigrant Saudi press. We feel that this problem represents a challenge to all of us. And we have accepted this challenge. And here we are, publicly stating that we have agreed to have this issue be brought up today.

The door to a dialogue is open.

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CSO: 4404/216

BRIEFS

PETROCHEMICAL SHARE GROWTH PLANNED--Nicosia, 7 Feb (AFP)--A huge growth rate for the multi-million dollar Saudi petrochemical industry was anticipated from 1983 to 1985, Abd al-'Aziz al-Zamil, vice-chairman and manager of the Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (SABIC), said in an interview to be published tomorrow. Mr al-Zamil told the MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC SURVEY that Saudi Arabia hoped to control 4 to 5 percent of the world market for petrochemicals. SABIC initially planned to undertake 10 projects involving the establishment of new industrial plants, notably in the al-Jubayl region, near the Gulf, at Yanbu' on the Red Sea and in Jidda, he said. The projects included two steel and iron plants to be partly financed by Korfstahl and Korf-Handel, and petrochemical plants financed in part by Shell, Mobil and Exxon. Saudi Arabia's foreign partners would be offered low-rate interest loans and supplies of gas, fuel and crude oil at extremely low rates, he said. [Text] [NC071949 Paris AFP in English 1846 GMT 7 Feb 82]

CSO: 4400/123

TAX CUT FOR OVERSEAS WORKERS POSSIBLE

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English No 652, 22 Jan 82 pp 8-9

[Text] The Sudanese Government is reported to be considering replacing a ten percent income tax which it introduced recently on all Sudanese working abroad by a much lesser tax, AL BAYAN newspaper reported last week.

Quoting the Dubai Municipality chief executive Kamal Hamzah, who is the president of the Sudanese community there, the newspaper said that the Sudanese government had realised the difficulty of payment in taxes of ten percent of the annual income and is considering other options.

The Sudanese authorities are reported to be considering either the introduction of a unified tax of 200 dollars per annum to be applied on all Sudanese working abroad regardless of the annual income equated tax ranging between 100 and 400 dollars per annum according to the income of the individual. Hamzah, who is said to be leading the negotiations with the Sudanese Government told the newspaper that Sudan will cancel the ten percent tax and replace by either of the two proposed systems during the coming of the few weeks.

The ten percent created grave concern among the Sudanese community in the Gulf in particular who established immediate contact with the Sudanese embassies there seeking revision for decision.

"The Central Bank must be in a position where it can provide all the commercial banks with foreign currency, in practice U.S. dollars whenever they have some payments to make abroad on behalf of their customers," Al Hamar said. The Central Bank has normally to provide short-term loans against appropriate securities, in favour of banks facing a temporary problem.

He added that the bank must also regulate the overall liquidity needed by the local economy. "To safeguard the value of the dirham" Hamar said the bank was always prepared to "buy dirhams and accordingly to sell U.S. dollars at all times and in any quantity at fixed rates of exchange.

CSO: 4500/101

BRIEFS

HINDI BURIAL--Khartoum, January 14--The body of exiled Sudanese opposition leader Sherif Hussein Hindi was finally buried today in the family graveyard in Khartoum's eastern suburb of Burri mourned by some 10,000 people. The body of Mr Hindi, who died of a heart attack in Athens last Saturday, arrived in Sudan early today via Tripoli and Baghdad, where Libyan and Iraqi officials, as well as other opponents of the Sudanese Government, paid their last respects. Some mourners carried banners signed by the officially dissolved Democratic Unionist Party which Mr Hindi led. They bore such slogans as "Farmers are Hunger-Stricken," "The Banner of Democracy Never Falls" and "We Shall Not Surrender." Mr Hindi, a former finance minister, left Sudan in 1969 after current President Gaafar Nimeiry came to power. He lived in Saudi Arabia and was sentenced to death in his absence by a Sudanese court in 1976 for allegedly taking part in a coup attempt against the Government. At the funeral representatives of branches of Mr Hindi's party distributed leaflets carrying an obituary of their leader and pledging to carry on his principles. Most of those attending came from Central Sudan's Gezira Province, where Mr Hindi's followers are dominant and where he was born in 1924. Government officials who attended included the Speaker of the now dissolved People's Assembly (Parliament), ruling Sudanese Socialist Union leader Rashid Tahirbakr and Energy and Mining Minister Sherif Fohami, but it was not clear whether they were there in a private capacity of representing President Nimeiry. Shortly after the burial about 700 people, mostly women and children, staged a demonstration. Chanting anti-government slogans, they headed for the city centre but dispersed after they were blocked by police. Police and troops with armoured vehicles lined a main road leading to the burial place, apparently anticipating large-scale riots. (A.F.P.) [Text] [Paris AFRICA AFP in English No 2863, 15 Jan 82 p 13]

CSO: 4500/101

OPPOSITION LEADERS' HOPES FOR 1982 EXPRESSED

Introduction

Tunis LE MAGHREB in French No 38, 9 Jan 82 p 19

[Article by Omar S'habou: "1982?"]

[Text] The question mark is justified, for it actually expresses a certain amount of anxiety about tomorrow. What will tomorrow bring? In this instance, the question is not metaphysical; it is political.

Will public finances be able to satisfy the generally legitimate demands of workers? Will the trend toward private ownership of the economy bridge the gap between social inequalities or will it have the opposite effect? Will the institutional structure, designed for an historic, charismatic leader, withstand the hazards and storms of destiny? Could the frustration of 1 November 1981 be eliminated by wise, simple measures such as a general amnesty and recognition of the country's main political movements?

These are some of the many basic questions which account for the anxiety of at least some Tunisians.

In the following articles, Ahmed Mestiri, Brahim Haydar, Mohamed Bel Hadj Amor and Mohamed Harmel, each in his own way, explain their apprehension, views and hopes for 1982.

A feeling of pessimism emerges from their articles. They generally agree on the diagnosis and have relatively different views concerning the cure. We also asked a high PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] official to express his hopes, but he declined. What a pity! Our readers could have possibly obtained some information to counter-balance the feeling of pessimism which they will experience after reading the editorials of opposition leaders.

Hopes for Underprivileged, Oppressed

Tunis LE MAGHREB in French No 38, 9 Jan 82 p 20

[Article by Ahmed Mestiri: "I Think About Those Who"]

[Text] Although alien to our Arab-Islamic traditions, the Gregorian calendar has finally, for a very long time now, imposed its rhythm on our country's economic and administrative activities. Thus the practice of expressing New Year's hopes has practically become a custom in our country, like everywhere else in the world. On this occasion, LE MAGHREB has asked me to express my hopes and wishes for 1982 to its readers.

My first thoughts are for the vast majority of my fellow citizens: the most humble, those "who can't make ends meet," and for whom 1 January is a day like any other and 1982 may not be different from 1981 or 1980. For them I wish not change--which is practically impossible in 1982--but some improvement in their living conditions, that they will suffer less from poverty, hunger, sickness and ignorance.

I also think about those who are rotting in jails for their ideas and for having engaged in political activities, such as the leaders and militants of the Islamic faction, against whom no specific accusation of foreign collusion or violence has been brought or proven. I hope prison doors will swing open for them as soon as possible and, in the meantime, that their conditions of confinement will improve substantially, that they will at least leave Bordj Erroumi penitentiary for a healthier place of detention where they can be visited regularly by their relatives, kiss their children other than through bars, read newspapers, receive medical care and decent food. I also think about exiles, about those who are not in the service of foreign governments, of true patriots who ask only to serve their country and to defend their views legally. I hope that in 1982 they will be adequately reassured about the fate of their return, so that they can voluntarily return to their friends and families. For all of them, I hope that in 1982 a law of general amnesty will be enacted as soon as possible.

Otherwise, I hope that in 1982 the afflictions of modern Tunisia--regionalism, corruption, decline of moral standards and violence--will diminish and that the spirit of tolerance will increase, that democracy will become a day-to-day reality so that citizens will be concerned about the country's problems and will voluntarily help to solve them by effectively participating in the management of public affairs.

Internationally, I hope that the various Arab governments will settle their ridiculous disputes and that before trying to reach an understanding among themselves, they will start by reaching an understanding with their own peoples so that human energy, which is now being wasted in pointless, insignificant fighting, can be devoted to the only fight that matters: the one facing the Arab nation as a result of the challenges of Zionism and underdevelopment.

Capitalist Approach Criticized

Tunis LE MAGHREB in French No 38, 9 Jan 82 p 21

[Article by Mohamed Harmel: "The Year of the United Struggle"]

[Text] It is customary to recall the outstanding events of each passing year, which indicate some of the positive or negative aspects of a situation and are landmarks of change and crisis epitomizing the beginning or end of a process. But the processes themselves, in all their complexity and depth, must not be forgotten, for they exceed the scope of a single year and are not expressed by merely one event.

Historically, 1981 was characterized by the end of the single-party system and the legal reinstatement of the Tunisian Communist Party. To some degree, it was also the year of a democratic process, both encouraging and frustrating, of elections which produced both a profound hope for change and immense frustration; it was a year which saw the PSD sink again into a crisis of credibility, which we define as a crisis of its leading role in the national democratic movement in society in general.

What will 1982 bring? We can express hopes and wishes or even make predictions--not about the specific development of events, which is always unpredictable, but about the main trend of the country's development. But we are not just spectators. As a party composed of national progressive and democratic forces, we are ourselves active participants, basic factors helping to shape events and to support the struggle to solve the country's vital problems. In the face of the world crisis, which is affecting various aspects of the country's political, economic, social and cultural life and which threatens to grow worse and lead to uncontrollable situations, and in the face of an economic and social trend whose disastrous consequences no longer need to be demonstrated, we will assume all our national responsibilities by fighting energetically and lucidly for a progressive, democratic alternative that will maintain the private capitalist sector while making it part of a different rationale, a different model of development and imbuing it with a different purpose.

With regard to government, previous criticism concerning the trend of the last decade has quickly been forgotten and we are witnessing a new attempt to reestablish the capitalist approach as a model of development just when it was starting to be discredited. At a time when capitalism is undergoing a structural crisis worldwide, when it can develop in Third World countries only in a disjointed, marginal and dependent fashion, the "virtues" of capitalism are being defended almost openly. The mirage of easy profits, of Western-type consumption, is being proposed as an ideal for young people, a number of whom are unemployed. Group effort and sacrifice to proudly build an independent economy are in fact belittled despite appeals for limiting consumption and austerity, which have no impact in an atmosphere of pronounced social inequality, ostentatious luxury, lavish spending and waste--in a country with limited resources. Using false logic, the negative features and crisis of this or that socialist country (which are due to the mistakes and difficult historic conditions of the emergence of a new social system without capitalists and without exploiters) serve as a pretext and an alibi for a campaign aimed at discrediting any genuine socialist approach. And yet they continue to call for socialism verbally, which has no real content and no theoretical basis!!

After 10 years, the situation strangely resembles the one that followed the failure of the experiment of the 1960's in our own country! And paradoxically, there is a desire to administer the same "sedatives" despite the negative results of the capitalist approach and its effects, which are obvious today. As though the choice could only be between the mistakes of the Tunisian cooperative experiment or the mistakes of Polish socialism ... and the capitalist approach still in effect, when it is a matter of developing an original Tunisian progressive approach. How can we think of breaking the vicious circle of underdevelopment and crisis without combating not only its political causes, but its economic and social causes as well, and without courageously thinking of changing the overall logic of the approach of the 1970's and developing, with the participation of all of the country's vital forces, a new approach in accordance with our country's particular conditions and capabilities and with the lessons to be learned from the experience of the past two decades, without repeating either.

All progressive and democratic national forces, including the trade union movement, must work together to make 1982 the year of a united struggle, without sectarianism or cliques, so that we can begin to really resolve the crisis. Let's not forget that workers and youth have a great deal of hope in each and every one of us.

Criticism of Bourguiba, Government

Tunis LE MAGHREB in French No 38, 9 Jan 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Brahim Hayder, Member of MUP Political Bureau: "Total and Complete Reexamination"]

[Text] There is so much to be done today in our country by every citizen, every school of thought and every sociopolitical and occupational group that expressing our hopes would far exceed the scope of this article. Thus I will limit myself to expressing hopes whose fulfillment in 1982 would facilitate the return to recognition of the people's rights, the brotherhood of all Tunisians and equal opportunity for every citizen to serve our cherished country to the best of his ability.

With regard to the Popular Unity Movement [MUP], I hope that it receives a favorable response to its more than 4-year-old request for a newspaper and to its more than 7-month-old request for legal status as a party. I hope that the civil, political and professional rights of all its members are reinstated and that the ban--as obstinate as it is totally unjustified--of our general secretary, Ahmed Ben Salah, will finally be lifted.

Concerning the opposition, I hope for the release of many members of all factions who are now in prison--particularly those of the Islamic Faction Movement and workers sentenced for striking--and the reinstatement of all their rights.

I also hope that all opposition movements will find the means to fully assume their role, persevering relentlessly against the government's obstinacy and clearly offering the public their own alternative.

Finally, I hope that all these movements manage to combine their efforts on the basis of these simple, clear principles:

1. As of today, the government has shown no sincere intention to establish a true democracy in the country and does not conceal this. It merely reacts pragmatically to events, with the sole aim of staying in power as long as possible. Thus there is no possibility of compromise or of accepting its unsatisfactory proposals, which it does not hesitate to reconsider, doing so only to divide and weaken the opposition.

2. Democracy is not for some; it is for everyone or it is not democracy. In the eyes of the government, the party status and newspapers granted to certain movements (and denied to others) were not awarded in recognition of a right but as a privilege, one which is also precarious. The beneficiaries of this or that privilege must therefore not consider them acquisitions to be preserved at any price (i.e., by necessarily making concessions to the government and keeping their distance from those who have not been granted privileges), but merely advantages which they are prepared to forfeit in the fight to regain them as rights, with everyone else entitled to such rights.

3. The opposition must deal with the government as a whole and not with this or that person with a reputation for being hard or soft. The problem is one of the system and not of people. And it is the man who personifies the system, President Bourguiba, who alone is responsible, *de jure* and *de facto*, for everything that happens in the country. Thus it is pointless to play one government faction against another.

With regard to the government, I hope that President Bourguiba will be less interested in the past, as glorious as it may be, and more interested in the changes that are currently sweeping our society and the aspirations stirring our people and gripping our youth.

I hope that he will be more attentive to the dominant features of our political life today:

1. The vast majority of the Tunisian people today feel they are poorly governed and are deeply aware that the current economic policy is a class policy with the domestic effect of impoverishing and exploiting the majority and the international effect of growing dependence on other nations.

2. The Tunisian people do not understand and do not accept the fact that they were declared adults 25 years ago when they were liberated from colonial domination and are today treated as children when they demand freedom and dignity for all citizens.

3. The Tunisian people do not understand and do not accept the fact that 25 years after independence, Tunisians are still being imprisoned, tortured and deprived of their most basic rights solely because of their ideas. Nor do they understand or accept that freedom, democracy and justice are subject to negotiation, haggling and compromise with the very ones whose mission is to establish and defend those rights.

4. Youth--and the very young--believe that it is no less noble to fight for civil liberties and social justice today than to have fought for national independence in the past. And they are ready to pay the necessary price to achieve their goal.

5. Finally, youth--and the very young--are profoundly convinced that a new order is emerging irresistibly and that they are already participating in its development. It is on the basis of its attitude toward this new order that the government will be judged, by the people today and by history tomorrow.

And my most ardent wish is that a complete and total reexamination of the government's political, economic and social choices will quickly lead to a radical change, without pointless negotiation or petty restrictions.

However, I am convinced that beyond hopes and wishes, only our people's fight in 1982 and their sacrifices to regain their sovereignty will finally be able to launch ~~our country~~ in the path to freedom, justice and prosperity.

11915

CSO: 4519/101

TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS IMPROVEMENTS SAID TO BE FORTHCOMING

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 34, Jan 82 pp 38-40

[Interview with Sadoq Ben Jomaa, minister of transport and communications; date and place of interview not specified: "Sadiq Ben Jomaa Tells AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL the Problem of Telephones Would Be Solved Once and For All in 1985"]

[Text] Renovation plan for fleet of ships and airplanes: the choice is between Boeing and the Airbus. The solution to increasing pressure on cities lies in broad economic and administrative decentralization. The Tripoli-Sfax railroad project has been revived, and we hope to proceed with implementation. The joint shipping route with Morocco will be operated in two directions; anticipated losses will amount to 6 million dollars a year.

A few weeks before being re-elected in the National Assembly elections, AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL interviewed minister of transport, Mr Sadoq Ben Jomaa. The interview covered the various affairs of transportation and communication in Tunisia, and it also covered the reality and the future of Moroccan-Arab cooperation in these two sectors.

It is known that Mr Ben Jomaa is a competent man who works hard. His activities and responsibilities are numerous. But above all, he is kind, patient and close to people, spontaneously shunning the trappings of power. Actually, his simplicity and his gentleness conceal the depth and courage of the positions he assumes, positions which became clearly evident when he was tested.

Because Ben Jomaa is a man of knowledge, of action and of dialogue, many people think he is qualified to play an effective role in the next stage which by nature will be a pluralist stage that will test the open-door policy.

The interview follows [a biographical sketch]:

Sadoq Ben Jomaa

--Born in Djerba in 1932.

--Received his secondary education in Saddiqi College in Tunis. He studied engineering at (Pont et Chaussees) College where he graduated in 1958.

--He began public service in 1960 as chief engineer in public works and director of the port of Tunis.

--In 1963 he headed the National Transport Company; then he headed al-Janub [the South] Bank in 1968. During the same period, in 1969, he headed a Tunisian-Italian syndicate for oil products.

--In 1969 he was appointed undersecretary of state for social affairs; then in 1971 he was appointed general manager in the Ministry of [Supply].

--He was a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Destourian party between 1964 and 1974. He is a member of the party's Political Bureau and a member of parliament, representing north Tunis.

--He headed the Union of Tunisian Engineers between 1967 and 1978. He was re-elected to that position in 1980.

--He also headed the Arab Union of Engineers in 1975-1976.

--He was elected president of the International Alliance of Engineers' Unions in 1975, and he was re-elected to that position in 1977 and 1979. He still holds that position.

--In May 1981 he was elected honorary chairman of the Arab Organization for Solar Energy.

[Question] To what extent has the development in the transportation and communications sector been able to meet the needs of the Tunisian economy?

[Answer] I believe that the efforts we made have been significant and continuous. Tunisia now has an advanced and a highly efficient infrastructure which includes roads, local airports and regular transportation lines on land, sea and air. Because of the development of its internal and foreign communications, Tunisia's connections with the outside world now are effective. Initially, these connections were directed specifically toward Europe because of the strength of economic relations with the countries of the north Mediterranean because European tourism is developing, and because of workers' traffic and other such factors. In a second stage, however, the situation became more balanced, first, for political reasons and, second, for economic and tourist reasons. For some time now there has been a growing tendency to achieve closer ties with the Arab countries in the east and in the west, with West Africa and with a few important points in Asia and Africa. This development took place along two lines: in Tunisia air transport routes were developed so that these areas can be reached

regularly and more frequently than they had been in the past; and in the Arab companies themselves there was development: most of them operated regular routes to Tunisia. We are now on the verge of a new development. We are thinking of opening a route to Muscat and Oman, and we may have one to Qatar on the Gulf. We are also thinking of starting a route to Nouakchott and Dakar before the end of the year. There is a project to build a new airport for the capital, Tunis; that airport will be located 30 kilometers from the city.

Plan To Enlarge the Fleet

[Question] The renovation of Tunisia's fleet of airplanes is a subject that is being discussed. What are your priorities in this regard, and have you reached a decision regarding the kind of airplanes that would be suitable?

[Answer] The matter will be decided soon in the context of making the final revisions in the sixth development plan and setting up an advisory program for Tunis Air. At any rate, what we are interested in is testing airplanes that would be suitable to our system of air [traffic] and would provide that system with a maximum measure of economic feasibility. This naturally requires keeping up with development and choosing new airplane models that were specifically designed to provide the greatest fuel economy, the least damage to the environment and the most appropriate economic capacity. I believe that in practical terms the choice is between small and medium size airplanes like the Boeing 767 and 757 and the Airbus A-310. We will also take delivery of an Airbus A-300 in the spring of 1982 which we had previously ordered, and we still have an option on a second airplane of the same model.

[Question] How do you evaluate performance standards in the Tunisian fleet of airplanes, and how do you evaluate the development of Tunisian technological skills in the field of aviation?

[Answer] Standards are good. Of course productivity can be increased. In a developing country we must always be thinking about the ideal use of human and material resources, and this is what we are doing right now. Tunis Air, for example, provides full maintenance for its own airplanes. Extremely competent Tunisian technicians do 100 percent of the general overhauling of the airplanes. It must be mentioned that maintenance is a principal part of acquiring aviation technology. Maintenance is a very expensive process when it is carried out abroad. This may be the reason why some Arab airline companies and even non-Arab airline companies are thinking about having their maintenance work done at the workshops of Tunis Air. Advanced communications in this regard are underway. There is only one company or two in the Arab countries where native technical workers carry out all the maintenance for their airplanes. All airplane crews are also Tunisian citizens, and we do not have non-Tunisian citizens on board the airplanes of our national company. This technical development is based on a training and preparation plan that began a short time after independence.

In Tunisia there is a higher institute from which pilots, technicians and air traffic controllers graduate. The latest "event" in this field occurred when the first female pilot in Tunisia, and perhaps in the Arab world, graduated from this institute. She is 'Aliya al-Manshari. She was one of the top students in her class. We also concluded an agreement with Saudi Arabia; it will lease airplane crews from Tunisia in some seasons.

[Question] Does the rate policy which you are applying take into account the needs of the tourist sector?

[Answer] There are two kinds of rates. Charter rates are those that are reduced to encourage tourism. These rates are applied to regular flights, and we have a good share of the charter market. Then there are the ordinary rates for open tickets and for excursion tickets which have a time limit. We give a reduction on these rates to Tunisian workers abroad.

Among significant developments in this regard is the tendency to standardize transportation costs to Tunisia regardless of the destination point. This means that one will be able to fly from Paris, for example, to the capital, Tunis, to Gafsa or to Djerba for the same cost. The purpose of this measure is to encourage tourism.

[Question] Is there cooperation with Morocco in the field of transportation? What are the most notable projects that are being discussed to link the countries of the Maghreb?

[Answer] There is cooperation in some fields, but so far that cooperation has not been proceeding on a schedule and in an adequate manner. We have good ties with Algeria and regular bus lines with all areas in Algeria. We are now thinking of establishing a joint transportation company to link the two capitals, Algiers and Tunis. There is a railroad across Morocco which was inaugurated in 1975. It ties Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, but we do not have a railroad to Libya. However, there is a plan for a railroad line from Sfax to Tripoli. The feasibility of the plan has been confirmed [even though] discussions about the plan had come to a standstill after the misunderstanding which occurred in 1978. However, we revived the project during the recent visit to Tunisia by [Libya's] secretary of the economy, Mr Abu Zayd 'Umar Durdah. We hope the project will eventually be implemented. It has been placed on the agenda of the joint committee which was formed by both countries to look into the establishment of joint projects.

The Joint Shipping Route

As far as Morocco is concerned, there is the joint shipping route which we agreed to utilize together for the purpose of ensuring regular routes between the principal ports on the northern shores of the Mediterranean and in the Gulf. This route will operate in two directions: the first one will be from Casablanca to the ports of the east, and the second one will be from Tunis to the shores of West Africa. Although the route will cost Tunisia and Morocco about 3 million dollars in losses each per year, we decided to begin operating it. We will then try to win support for it from

exporters and importers or from the governments whose ports and, accordingly, foreign trade are served by this route.

[Question] Are there any developments in the area of communications systems? Where is Arab cooperation in this field?

[Answer] As far as Tunisia is concerned, we have direct outside communications with about 20 countries. These are made possible by "Inelsat" satellites. However, our communications are relayed through London and Paris because we do not yet have an earth station. At any rate construction work on (al-Dayqah) [earth] station, which is being built by Japan, has begun. With maximum modifications it will be ready in 2 years. We will then communicate directly with the outside world.

Regarding Arab cooperation in the communications field, we were pleased that the recent meeting of Arab ministers of communication, which was held in Oman last April, finally approved the Arab satellite project. This was done after the loss of valuable time--about 5 years at least--because of problems that were not fundamental. It is estimated that work on this satellite will be completed and that it will be launched in 2 or 3 years at the most. This satellite will assure [communications links] with all the Arab countries and with a number of neighboring countries as well. It will make immediate and direct communications between these countries possible.

The Problem of Telephones Will Be Solved Soon

[Question] When will the problem of telephones in Tunisia be solved?

[Answer] The difficulty as far as telephones are concerned lies in the fact that demand for telephones grew at a rate much greater than that of investments. This shortage which has grown will be solved in the sixth plan which includes an ambitious investment program whose purpose is to achieve a fundamental and a long-term unfettering of telephone services. This would be achieved in a maximum period ending by the end of 1985. Initially and within the span of 3 years the number of existing lines, which are now about 140,000 lines, will be doubled; 84 percent of them will be automated. In the second stage--that is, until the end of the plan--the number of lines will be tripled, and that number will approach 500,000 lines; 99 percent of those lines will be automated. That is, all lines will be automated with the exception of lines in a few very remote areas whose connection with the automated telephone system cannot be justified economically. This program will require 183 million dinars in investments--approximately 350 million dollars. Expenditures for telephone communications during the previous 5-Year plan did not exceed 50 million dinars--about 95 million dollars.

[Question] What is being prepared for the public transportation sector, especially to relieve the pressure on cities and meet the large demand from citizens?

[Answer] There is a two-way solution which in time has to produce effects.

On the one hand we are trying to increase investments so that the change in the number of buses would always be greater than the change in the number of people. On the other hand, a similar effort is underway to complete transportation services so as to meet the principal needs and facilities and continue improving the quality of those services. In this regard there is a tendency to increase the number of vehicles which are licensed for public transportation--taxi cabs and other vehicles. We are also continuing to expand the railroad system so that railroad services can reach the suburbs and numerous coastal cities. We are also making plans to implement a project for a rail car system--not a subway--to alleviate traffic problems and provide an additional [transportation] service. An additional lane will be provided, and rail car junctions cutting across the streets of the capital will be avoided.

Naturally all the problems that you mentioned previously--regarding the matter of telephones, transportation or other services--do not stem only from a shortage in equipment and investments, but they also stem primarily from a demographic imbalance and the strong concentration of various economic activities or administrative [activities] in the capital. This is a general problem in the world, as is well-known, and especially in developing countries. It can only be confronted by bold decentralization steps that should be taken not only throughout the republic, but also in the capital. Services are to be decentralized so that citizens would not have to come to the capital unless they have very strong reasons to do so. Economic decentralization [is to be achieved] in order to bring about a better distribution of economic activity and of economic institutions such as industries, banks and stores. Naturally, action in all fields must be integrated to reduce the effect of the city as an attraction and to achieve the greatest measure of stability on the population scene.

8592

CSO: 5500/5006

PRESIDENT INAUGURATES ASSEMBLY SESSION, GIVES STATE OF UNION MESSAGE

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 29 Dec 81 p 5

/Article by Muhammad Abu 'Abduh: "Zayid at the National Assembly Inauguration: We Aspire to a Brilliant Future Supported by Strength and Backed by the Truth"/

/Text/ His Highness Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan, president of the state, inaugurated the first ordinary session of the National Federal Assembly's fifth legislative term yesterday morning.

His highness the president of the state arrived at the assembly headquarters in al-Husn Palace at 1000 hours, where a delegation of council members was there to receive him.

As soon as his highness arrived, the band played the national anthem of the state of the emirates and the honor guard that had formed in line in the courtyard of al-Husn Palace passed in review to salute his highness.

His highness then headed for the National Federal Assembly chamber where the assembly members met him.

The ceremonies to inaugurate the session began with a lofty speech by his highness the president of the state, announcing the inauguration of the session and expressing the hope that this session would be blessed by service to the nation and the citizens. Ahmad Said Ghubash, as assembly member, then gave a statement for the National Federal Assembly in his capacity as its oldest member.

Attending the session were His Highness Shaykh Sultan ibn Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of al-Shariqah; His Highness Saqr ibn Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of Ra's al-Khaymah; His Highness Shaykh Hamid ibn Rashid al-Nu'aymi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of 'Ajman; His Highness Shaykh Rashid ibn Ahmad al-Mu'alla, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of Umm al-Qaywayn; His Highness Shaykh Hamad ibn Muhammad al-Sharqi, member of the Supreme Council and ruler of al-Fujayrah; and Shaykh Maktum ibn Rashid, deputy prime minister and crown prince of Dubai.

Also attending the session were Hamdan ibn Rashid, minister of finance and industry; Muhammad ibn Rashid, minister of defense; Surur ibn Muhammad, chief of the court of his highness the president of the state; Ahmad Khalifah al-Suwaydi, the

representative of his highness the president of the state; and a number of sheiks, ministers, senior government officials and members of the Arab and foreign diplomatic corps. The federal decree inviting the assembly to convene was then read out and Hamad al-Madfa', minister of health, gave the inaugural speech that had been prepared by his highness the president of the state.

After the speech ended, the session was adjourned for a short period, followed by farewells to his highness.

His highness the president of the state shook hands with the members of the National Assembly, wishing them success in their tasks, stressing the importance of the national mission they were performing in service of the nation and the citizens, saying "the person who does good work does not feel regrets," and urging them to do good and avoid evil works.

His highness also later shook hands with the heads of diplomatic missions, senior officials, and the Kuwaiti National Assembly delegation that had participated in the ceremonies of inaugurating the new National Assembly term.

Herewith is the text of the speech by which his highness the president of the state inaugurated the assembly activities. It was given by Ahmad /sic/ al-Madfa', minister of health, by proxy for him.

In the name of God the all-merciful and most compassionate:

Brother members of the National Assembly:

Honored guests: By God's grace and bounty, we are today inaugurating a new legislative term for your venerable assembly, and I, along with my brother members of the Supreme Council of the Federation, am gladdened to greet you in the name of the precious trust by which we are joined through the honor of membership in this assembly, representing the people of the state of the United Arab Emirates.

There is no doubt that you appreciate the vastness of this responsibility and the importance of your constructive role in truthfully expressing the hopes of our people and our nation and effectively cooperating with the government in order to realize the good of the nation and happiness for its people.

Brothers: Our people in the federation have risen above the difficulties and obstacles that faced them as a result of the conditions of fragmentation, schism and backwardness that had been imposed upon us before the federation was established. Our people, by the grace of God, the termination of their members, and the morality of their leaders, have managed to establish a pioneering federal experiment in the Arab nation.

The last 10 years of the federation's life have proved its ability to sacrifice, build, and achieve progress and stability in the various sections of the country. Everyone has realized the importance of the federation and the need for it in facing challenges and embodying our people's hopes for aspirations, prosperity and

welfare. Many achievements have been realized on our good land. The cultivated area in the various parts of our country has expanded, industrial projects, modern installations and road systems have been established, and the necessary facilities and services have been furnished to improve its standards of living and provide a better life for all citizens.

The government has also rounded out its agencies, set forth legislation for them, and mobilized all resources and powers to catch up to the cavalcade of progress. The government has assumed its proper place in the international community and has contributed an effective role in consolidating means for cooperation with fraternal countries in the Gulf, advocating Arab and Islamic causes and defending the principles of truth and peace.

The federation has been our means for achieving these ends and it has implanted its pillars and deeply rooted its structure as a point of departure and serious step along the road toward comprehensive Arab unity.

Proceeding from this objective, the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council was declared last May, to consolidate the cooperation that exists among Arab countries in the Gulf and achieve coordination, integration and interlinkage among them in all fields, in view of the benefit this entails for their peoples and in order to arrive at common goals.

Gulf Security

The Gulf states have declared that responsibility for preserving the stability and security of the Gulf is the responsibility of the governments of the states and peoples that border on the Gulf. They have also declared their rejection of any foreign intervention in their affairs and their alienation from international conflicts, so that this may always remain an area of peace and concord, in order that the peoples of the region may be given an opportunity to carry out their development plans and contribute their effective role to international society and the provision of economic stability and worldwide prosperity.

We consider the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council to be a vital matter for member countries. It is not an axis or a bloc directed against anyone. Rather, it is a necessary point of departure for consolidating cooperation and bonds among the countries of the region in order to repel the dangers threatening them, unify their positions, guarantee their mutual interests, and achieve their national aspirations, in order thereby to contribute to supporting the stability and progress of the peoples of the region.

The Basic Danger Is Zionist Aggression

We are also concerned that the Gulf Cooperation Council be a good example of comprehensive Arab cooperation and a force defending the League of Arab States, crowning the principles of its charter, continuously supporting joint Arab action in various forms, truly backing just causes, and bolstering Arab and Islamic solidarity in facing the basic danger threatening the peoples of the region and the whole world, which is continuous Zionist aggression against Arab homes and territories,

usurpation of the historic rights of Arab countries and violation of the resolutions of international organizations: these have resulted in the threat to international peace and security in the region.

Therefore we urge the major countries and friendly peace-loving nations to stand on the side of truth and justice and direct their attention toward creation of a just, comprehensive solution to the Palestinian cause focussed on guaranteeing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, establishing their independent country on their national soil, striving for the withdrawal of aggressive Israeli forces from occupied Arab territories, and eliminating the measures and violations the Israeli authorities have perpetrated on usurped Arab territories in southern Lebanon, the Golan Heights and Arab Jerusalem, in order to remove the causes of international tension from the region.

Arab Solidarity

While we request the international community and friendly countries to stand on the side of truth and justice in confronting the Israeli aggression and arrogance, we also, more than at any time in the past, demand that all disputes among Arab countries be foresworne, that their solidarity be restored and that they stand in a single rank to repel the Zionist conspiracies and the great dangers they entail which threaten our entire Arab world.

The state of the United Arab Emirates is sparing no effort to achieve Arab solidarity and strengthen common Arab action, on grounds that it is the basic buttress and the true pillar for protecting the national interests of the Arab nation. We also earnestly look forward to the day when the war between Iraq and Iran will end and peace and harmony will be restored between the two countries, in pursuit of the principles of brotherhood and peace and in observation of the rights of neighbors, along with respect for the legitimate rights of all, so that all powers and resources may be directed toward confronting the enemies of Arabhood and peace, in view of the bounty that holds for the various peoples and the bounty it holds for all mankind.

A Vision of the Future

Brother members of the National Assembly: the international circumstances and conditions surrounding us, and the challenges facing us, make it mandatory that we rise to a level of responsibility that will enable us to exert, make sacrifices, and strive seriously and sincerely to fulfil the hopes of our people and our glorious nation. Today we are beginning a new stage of national action. Let me review some of the steps we aspire to take in the coming period with you:

First, we must outstrip time in order to complete the projects we have started in the fields of production and services, in order to achieve a comprehensive resurgence for the nation, lessen the burdens of living expenses, provide a better life for all citizens, prepare the plans necessary to provide and furnish the country's needs, diversify the sources of national income, establish and support domestic institutions, and encourage the private sector to play its part in moving the wheel of development forward so that welfare and prosperity may become widespread throughout the areas of the country.

Second, we must all join forces to preserve the accomplishments we have realized by striving to implant domestic security in the country, since the country's security is the security of the nation and all the citizens, and by striving to protect our domestic front from destructive currents and delusive ideas and fight corruption in its various forms, in endorsement of the statement of almighty /God/: "Let a nation arise from among you that will call for the good, command the proper and prohibit the reprehensible."

Third, we must also deepen the notion of sound democracy, encourage constructive dialogue and the enlargement of scope for young people to contribute their creative roles to unleash powers and participate effectively in a context of commitment to society's values and immortal heritage, and strive to benefit from the beneficial experiences and lessons of the past.

Fourth, we must increase adherence to the majestic Islamic law and the principles of the pure religion and arrange all our affairs and activities in accordance with God's guidance and in pursuit of the sayings and doings of his prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, out of faith in his almighty statements "Perform your contract with me and I will perform my contract with you," and "If you side with God, he will cause you to be victorious and will plant your feet firmly."

Fifth, we must strive to implant the bonds of cooperation that exist with our brothers in the Gulf in various fields, strengthen joint Arab action, expand the horizons of cooperation with the Islamic world, and back just international causes in accordance with the principles of truth, justice and peace, in view of the good this entails for all mankind.

Brothers: we aspire to a brilliant morrow whose buttress is strength, whose pillar is truth, whose content is solidarity and a joining of forces, whose basis is brotherhood, solidarity and justice, and whose slogan is to do good works and bring about peace.

We ask wise beloved God to inspire us with the paths of righteousness and grant us all success in behalf of the deeds: "Say, work, and God, his prophet, and the devout will see your work." Peace and God's blessings be upon you.

The Assembly's Statement

Ahmad Sa'ad El-Din, member of the National Federal Assembly, made a statement on behalf of the assembly at the inaugural session whose text is as follows:

Your Highness Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan, president of the state; your highnesses members of the Supreme Federal Council; honored guests.

I give your highness the most gracious welcome and present you with sincere thanks for being so kind as to attend this ceremony inaugurating the new term of the National Federal Assembly. We are most appreciative of your highness' interest in attending this ceremony at the start of every new term; it is an interest that springs from your highness' belief in the principles of democracy and consultation, which Islam has implanted for its foundations and which it has laid as one of the bases for governance in the country.

Your highness, the members of the National Federal Council realize the great responsibility which has been cast upon them. You have laid the foundation stones of this federal state, have built its pillars, and have raised its flags. Ten years, filled with work and sacrifice, have passed in the life of the country.

Today we turn toward the coming years with utmost determination and hopes that they will be comprised of greater work and sacrifice, for the sake of completing the structure of strength, glory and prosperity. We make a compact with you, your highness, in fealty to our nation and out of piety to our people, to continue to make strides under your upright leadership to achieve your broad aspirations and our loyal people's aspirations toward unity, dignity and welfare.

Hilal Lawtah Chairman of the Assembly, Ba-al-Hasa First Deputy Chairman, Al-Mazru'i Second Vice Chairman

The National Federal Council elected Hilal Lawtah assembly chairman for the new term. Lawtah obtained 25 votes and his opponent, Hamad Bu Shihab, 13 of the votes of the 38 members who attended the session.

The election was held in two rounds. The first round was between the members Hamad Bu Shihab, 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Mazru'i, and Hilal Lawtah. It produced 17 votes for Lawtah, 12 votes for Hamad Bu Shihab, eight votes for al-Mazru'i and one invalid vote.

Since none of the candidates won an absolute majority, there was a run off between Hamad Bu Shihab and Hilal Lawtah. Supervising the elections was a committee composed of members 'Abdallah al-Kharji, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Jalbar al-Majid and 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Uways.

Following the election of the chairman, elections were held for the first deputy chairman. Running for this were Ahmad Sayf Ba-al-Hasa and Ahmad Khalaf al-Mazru'i. Ba-al-Hasa obtained 30 votes and al-Mazru'i 18.

Then elections were held for the second vice chairman. Running in that were 'Ali 'Id Bakhit al-Mazru'i, Ahmad Muhammad al-Madfa', Khalifah Hamid Jum'ah, and Muhammad Hamid al-Basti. Winning the post was 'Id Bakhit al-Mazru'i, obtaining 13 votes, while his competitors obtained nine (al-Madfa'), nine (Khalifah Hamid) and seven (al-Basti).

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NEW ASSEMBLY MEMBERS DEMAND GREATER POWERS

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIF in Arabic 29 Dec 81 P 5

/Article: "New Members Raise the Eternal Question: Why Are Important Laws Issued when the National Assembly Is in Recess?"/

/Text/ Following conclusion of the procedures for electing the session chairman, the assembly met under the chairmanship of Hilal Lawtah; in the session the various committees were formed, then the discussion on the remaining sections of the agenda was opened. 'Abdallah al-Mazru'i was the first speaker. He asked if there was anything new concerning the laws issued during the assembly recess, which were nine in number, and Hilal Lawtah replied that the government had the right to issue laws during the assembly recess and that only after that would they be presented to the assembly. Naturally, the situation would be different when the assembly was in session.

'Abdallah al-Mazru'i, who is a new member, replied that the National Assembly had previously written the government regarding two laws, the Press and Publication Law and the Central Bank Law, and requested to know the response.

Again Lawtah replied that if laws were issued in the assembly recess, the assembly did not have the right of discussion; its right was limited to that of perusal.

Al-Mazru'i replied to that by saying "There was a previous request to discuss these two laws, and we want to know the government's response to the request."

Lawtah said, "We will refer to the sources."

'Ubyad Hamid al-Tayir broke in, saying "The secretariat general has now been formed. We do not want to 'refer or not refer'--otherwise the whole issue will take up much of our time."

Lawtah said, "The assembly was in recess and work has now begun."

Al-Tayir replied that since the secretariat had been formed, it had the right to be informed of the response. He said, "We want to know what the secretariat has done and what the assembly has done with respect to these laws. We want to know the background of the issue."

Ahmad Sayf Ba-al-Hasa broke in; he is a new member and was elected first vice chairman. He said, "I am in agreement with our brothers and consider that these laws ought to be presented to the assembly. There are laws that had been issued in the past, and we must know the government's response to them."

Lawtah answered by saying, "The government presents the laws to the assembly. We discuss them and amend them. In the event viewpoints coincide, the government gives agreement to them, and in the event they do not, they are brought up before the Supreme Council, which is the arbiter."

However, Ba-al-Hasa reaffirmed the request to learn the government's answer on the laws the assembly had asked about and said "This request is to enable us to present our point of view."

Sayf Sultan joined the discussion, saying "It is not enough to put it in writing. We request the chairman of the assembly to get in touch with the government to follow up on that."

'Id Bakhit al-Mansuri (a new member) presented a request for information to the secretariat general concerning the laws the government had issued while the assembly was in session. He stated, "We consider this stage to be an extension of the previous stage of the assembly session, and there is no objection to what was issued during the assembly recess."

Muhammad al-Musa demanded a clarification from the counsellor on the point member 'Abdallah al-Mazru'i had raised. The counsellor said that the Press and Publication Law was issued during the assembly recess, and when the assembly met last year it discussed this matter and found that these laws were important. He said, "The government must present these laws to the assembly and present a recommendation to the government that it not act in haste on such laws, in order to provide an opportunity to study them. As for the laws, these have been issued, they must be respected, and the subject is closed."

'Ubayd al-Tayir requested that the assembly be furnished with statistics on the number of laws issued during the assembly recess in the last 10 years and the degree of their importance. Hilal Lawtah told him that they were in AL-JARIDAH AL-RASMIYAH. Al-Tayir replied, "I am a new member."

'Abdallah al-Mazru'i said "With respect to the assembly's policy on laws issued when it is in recess, there is the Press and Publication Law. Some amendments in it were made and it was issued during the assembly session. The government passed it through on an urgent basis, and here we must declare our policy, so that it will be a model for our dealings with the government, because there are important laws that must be discussed; if the government sees fit to issue important laws or pass them through while the assembly is in recess, we must spell our policy out and not waste time, and one must be in contact with the government to this end, or even with the president if that is possible."

Ahmad Sayf Ba-al-Hasa said, "What our brothers have requested is proper. We want to know why nine laws and five agreements were issued in a very short period

during the assembly recess and we request that they be presented to the assembly."

'Ubayd al-Tayir asked whether the amendments to the laws had been presented to the assembly or not and said, "Did the previous assembly have any knowledge of them, especially the Gulf Cooperation Agreement?"

The counsellor answered, "The government presents the assembly with the laws it asks for while it is in session. As for treaties, the government has the right to conclude these without referring to the assembly, which is just to be informed."

Al-Tayir intervened, saying the counsellor had used the expression "the government wishes" more than once, while the matter was not one of whether it wished or not. He said, "I am not convinced by what the counsellor has stated."

Khalifah Muhammad Khalifah said that the chairmanship was informed about the Gulf Cooperation Agreement; the assembly was in session, and it sent a telegram of salutation.

The chairman: "We were not informed; we just gave our blessings." Salih al-Shal said, "The assembly was in session when the Gulf conference was held, the agreement was presented to it, and it did not comment on it."

'Abdallah al-Mazru'i said, "An important point has arisen: shall we discuss the agenda? First we want to make a request for clarification, and then our task will be easy, if the government intends to cooperate with us." He declared, "Our brothers are holding a discussion on bills regulating the assembly's activity, and the question is, do they want to amend it or change it?"

Muhammad al-Musa answered, "The bills are connected to the constitution and there are no changes in them."

Ba-al-Hasa stated, "We brought up not the amendment of the bills but the amendment of some laws that were issued while the assembly was in session, in addition to treaties and agreements, primarily the Gulf Cooperation Council agreement, and we are asking to read them over."

'Ubayd al-Tayir spoke to the point that the old members were not content with the new members' discussions and asked, "Is there a tradition that we should be silent in the event laws are issued during the assembly recess?" He wondered, "Is it reasonable that all of these laws and decrees should be issued in a very short period? All of these issues are of concern to the nation and the citizens, and the assembly must discuss them."

Hamad Bu Shihab said, "We are in agreement with our brothers. Although we have 10 years' involvement, I can say that we have the constitution before us; this governs us in a clear manner. That is, a law issued during the assembly recess cannot be discussed. In my opinion though that is not correct, and this issue has been discussed more than once in the assembly to no avail. We discussed the subject of the Central Bank /Law/ which was issued during the assembly recess, the assembly adopted a recommendation concerning that but did not receive a reply from

the government. That is, there are things that are not in the assembly's favor, although we are committed to them in the context of the constitution, and a constitutional amendment regarding this system is necessary."

An Enthusiastic Statement

Khalifah Muhammad Khalifah said, "Our brother al-Tayir's statement was enthusiastic. We are all enthusiastic, and I previously made this point to the counsellor. Our brothers consider that this infringes on the interests of the citizens and the country and that there are other approaches, such as presenting recommendations or requests for amendment of laws that have been issued, and we must follow the approaches that will lead us to a remedy. We are not deaf and dumb, as our brother said."

The chairman remarked, "There are guests from Kuwait in our midst, and I consider that the discussion should be closed and we should adjourn the session."

"Before doing so, let me welcome our brothers who represent the Kuwait National Assembly for participating in this term, thereby expressing profound ties of brotherhood."

A statement was then read in the name of Muhammad al-Khurafi, a member of the Kuwait National Assembly, in which he thanked the state of the emirates for its good reception and conveyed the Kuwait National Assembly members' greetings to the assembly members, hoping that the bonds of closeness and cooperation would increase. The session was adjourned, on the understanding that it would reconvene next 12 January.

Election of Members to the Parliamentary Power

Sayf Sultan Sa'id was elected vice chairman of the parliamentary branch, receiving 23 votes, while his opponent, Ibrahim al-Hadidi received 14 votes. 'Abdallah Sultan al-Salami was elected secretary, obtaining 21 votes, and his opponent, Khalifah Muhammad Khalifah, obtained 16 votes.

Four members, Sayf Sa'id al-Jarwan, Nasir Khamis Salman, Sultan 'Abdallah al-Qadi and Muhammad Sa'id al-Sahi, won membership in the Executive Committee of the parliamentary branch by a unanimous vote.

National Assembly Committees

The Committee on Internal Affairs and Defense:

1. Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Musa.
2. Muhammad Hamid al-Basti.
3. Salih al-Shal.
4. Ahmad Sa'id Ghubash.
5. Muhammad Salih ibn Badwah.
6. Faraj ibn 'Ali Hammudah.
7. 'Abdallah Amin.

The Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and Industry:

1. 'Ubayd Rashid al-Shamisi.
2. Ahmad Muhammad al-Madfa'.
3. Jabr Sayf.
4. Sayf al-Jarwan.
5. 'Abdallah al-Kharji.
6. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al'Uways.
7. Ahmad Sayf Ba-al-Hasa.

The Committee on Legislative and Legal Affairs:

1. Khalifah Khamis Matar.
2. Muhammad Sa'id al-Sahh.
3. 'Abdallah Rashid Hilal.
4. Nasir Khamis Sulayman.
5. Ahmad Muhammad al-Madfa'.
6. Shaykh 'Abd-al-Jabbar al-Majid.
7. Muhammad Salih ibn Badwah.

The Committee on Education, Youth, Culture and Media Affairs:

1. 'Id al-Mazru'i.
2. Sultan Hamid 'Abdallah.
3. Muhammad Jasim al-Kharraz.
4. Sultan al-Qadi.
5. Nasir Khamis Sulayman.
6. Sayf Sultan Sa'id.
7. Faraj ibn Hammudah.

The Committee on Health, Labor and Social Affairs:

1. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Uways.
2. 'Abdallah Sultan.
3. Muhammad Jasim al-Kharraz.
4. Khalifah Ahmad Jajur.
5. Rahmah al-Mas'ud.
6. Sultan Khalifah al-Habtur.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, Planning, Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Agriculture and Fish Resources:

1. Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Musa.
2. 'Ubayd Rashid al-Shamisi.
3. Khalifah Muhammad Khalifah.
4. Sultan Hamid 'Abdallah.
5. Hamad Bu Shihab.
6. Ibrahim al-Hadidi.
7. Muhammad Salih ibn Badwah.

The Committee on Islamic Affairs, Religious Endowments and Public Facilities:

1. Shaykh 'Abd-al-Jabbar al-Majid.
2. Muhammad Sa'id al-Sahi.
3. Khalifah Khamis.
4. Muhammad ibn al-Shaykh Mujrin.
5. Rashid Muhammad Sayf.
6. 'Id al-Mazru'i.
7. Sultan al-Habtur.

The Committee on the Investigation of Contestations and Complaints:

1. 'Abdallah al-Mazru'i.
2. 'Ubayd Hamid al-Tayir.
3. Batti ibn Hamid ibn Bishr.
4. Ahmad Khalaf al-Mazru'i.
5. Ahmad Sa'id Ghubash.
6. Ibrahim al-Hadidi.
7. Sayf Sultan Sa'id.

The Committee To Respond to the Inauguration Address:

1. Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Musa.
2. 'Id al-Mazru'i.
3. Ahmad Khalaf al-Mazru'i.
4. Salih al-Shal.
5. Sultan Hamid 'Abdallah.
6. Ahmad Sa'id Ghubash.
7. 'Abdallah Rashid.
8. Jabr Sayf Jabr.

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GDR SEEKING NEW AREAS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION

GF261655 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 26 Jan 82 p 14

[Text] Having achieved an increase in exports to Dubai to the tune of about 60 percent in 1 year, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is now looking for new areas of economic cooperation with the UAE.

Mr Peter Fritsche, director general of the Ministry of Trade and leader of a nine-member GDR economic delegation, said yesterday that his country was willing to offer its training facilities to nationals and others working in the UAE.

Speaking at a meeting with officials of the Dubai Chamber of Commerce, he said: "What we want is normal trade and real cooperation. We are aware that there is a growing trend in Arab states to go in for import substitution." He was responding to a statement by the chamber's director general, Mr Nizar Sardast, that local industries were attracting the growing attention of entrepreneurs here. "We are looking for industrial collaboration with friendly countries. The idea of joint ventures is more acceptable here now than ever before."

Earlier Mr Fritsche reviewed the growth in economic ties between the GDR and UAE during the last 12 months. Among the highlights, he said, was the opening of a GDR trade office in Dubai and the visit of Mr Juma al Hajid, vice president of the Dubai Chamber to the Leipzig autumn fair last year.

The visiting delegation yesterday extended invitations to chamber officials and leading businessmen to visit the spring fair in Leipzig this year.

Mr Sardast expressed the hope that a contract signed with a GDR firm for the expansion of Dubai's National Cement Company recently would be the beginning of a long period of cooperation between Dubai and the GDR. He expressed satisfaction that the export of GDR products to Dubai had risen from DH 4.72 million during the first 6 months of 1980 to DH 8.056 million during the same period last year.

The visiting mission yesterday had talks with officials of the ministries of water and electricity as well as agriculture and fisheries. During its 1 week stay in the country, the mission will visit Abu Dhabi and al-Shariqah.

In addition to officials of the Foreign Trade Ministry, it is made up of firms exporting electrical equipment, household goods, printing machinery, pumps, glass and food storage equipment.

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